HISTORY OF KOŚALA

UPTO

THE RISE OF THE MAURYAS

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MOTILAL BANARSIDASS

DELHI :: VARANASI :: PATNA

TO

THE SACRED MEMORY

OF

MY PARENTS

क्व सूर्यप्रभवो वंशः क्व चाल्पविषया मतिः ।
तितिर्षुर्दुस्तरं मोहादुडुपेनास्मि सागरम् ॥

× × ×

अथवा कृतवाग्द्वारे वंशेऽस्मिन् पूर्वसूरिभिः ।
मणौ वज्रसमुत्कीर्णे सूत्रस्येवास्ति मे गतिः ॥

PREFACE

The present book is entitled 'The History Of Kośala Upto The Rise Of The Mauryas'. The incentive to prepare this work has come from a feeling that despite our general acceptance of the great historical value of ancient literary traditions very little has been done to utilize them in the reconstruction of India's past. We still limit ourselves, unwittingly it seems, to our chronological history alone, which begins, broadly speaking, either with the birth of the Buddha or with the rise of Chandragupta Maurya. Historical monographs pertaining to pre-Buddhist India are very few and the political information they contain is neither detailed nor clear and connected. It cannot, however, be said that Indian civilization of those early periods was possible without any material and political progress. Indeed, it is difficult to believe that philosophical and religious movements and social changes could ever take place without political security and activity. The historical study of those periods on a scientific and critical basis is even now a great desideratum. The present work is an attempt to fill that gap.

Pre-Mauryan India was not a politically unified country. Though the process of her political and cultural unification had started long before the advent of the imperial Mauryas, it was substantially achieved only in their times. Consequently, any study of the political history of that period must relate to local dynasties. In such regional studies, the history of Kośala occupies an important place. Not only that it was one of the foremost pre-Mauryan Mahājanapadas and produced some great historical personalities like Ikṣvāku, Māndhātā, Sagara, Hariśchandra, Raghu, Rāma, and Prasenajita, but also that its history is traditionally known from the Purānas, the Great Epics, and the early Buddhist literature in more or less a continued form for a period of about 2500 years.

That one of our immortal epics, the Vālmīki Rāmāyana, moves round the kingdom of Kośala and the exploits of Rāma is a proof of the unique place Kośala enjoys in Indian thought and literature. Perhaps the cultural unification of the country received one of its most powerful incentives from Kośala, and many norms in our social behaviour, family conventions, and mutual relationships of the rulers and the ruled seem to have started from its history. Lastly, one of the great protestant religions of India, Buddhism, originated in Kośala. If any one single man, after Rāma and Kṛisna, has left an indelible impress on the course of Indian history, religion, and culture, it is the Buddha, who was born and brought up in Kośala and preached mostly there and the territories roundabout. Thus the importance of the history of Kośala can hardly be over-emphasized

The present work is divided into twelve chapters. The first two chapters are introductory and present a critical evaluation of our sources as well as a description of the ancient geography of Kośala. Chapter III is devoted to the fixation of genealogy and chronology. The various names and genealogical steps given in the Purānas have not only been checked and compared but the evidence supplied by the epics and the Buddhist works has also been brought to bear on the same, and almost an agreed list can be claimed to have been prepared. Lately, some attempts have been made to fix the exact dates of the kings of the various Purānic steps, but at best they are only hypothetical and this method has not found favour with the present author, except in such cases, where the evidence seems to be quite convincing The next three chapters (IV to VI) are given to the discussion of the political history of the ancient Kośalan kingdom. The northern incursions of the Haihayas of the Dekkan and the resistance put up against them by Paraśurāma, as also the generally accepted but erroneous tradition that the latter led a vendetta against the Kṣatriyas, are critically examined therein. The oft-discussed Vasiṣṭha-Viśvāmitra quarrels have also been explained

from a new point of view. All care has been taken, while portraying the life and history of Rāma, to separate mere legend from sober history as also a discussion of the significance of the Rāmāyanic tradition is available. The division of the Kingdom into small principalities by that great hero was primarily instrumental in the decline and downfall of the realm of Kośala. Prasenajita, however, stands out pre-eminent in many respects and, accordingly, he has claimed our special attention. We think that his career has for the first time been discussed in critical details. Chapter VII is devoted to the study of Buddhist Ganas, flourishing on the north-eastern periphery of Kośala. The available data from the Buddhist Tripitaka have been fully utilized and analysed. The rest of the book is devoted to a discussion on culture, in which Chapters VIII to X deal with polity and administration—monarchical as well as non-monarchical. In the last two chapters, a portrayal of society and religion has been made and we have tried to present a comprehensive picture of the social and religious forces then at work in Kośala.

The present work is an attempt to give, for the first time, a connected, complete, and critical account of an important region of northern India in the pre-Mauryan days. There have, no doubt, been some earlier contributions on that period but they have been limited mostly to socio-religious studies. The late Mr. F. E. Pargiter, who was a pioneer in the field of Purānic researches, revolutionized our whole approach towards the Purānic traditions. He relied, however, too much on the Purānas, and totally neglected, or sometimes even discarded, the Vedic and Buddhist traditions. There are some studies based on the Jātakas but they do not provide a full picture. Indeed, they are far too general in their perspective If I succeed in reconstructing the ancient History of Kośala in a manner satisfying the test of scientific criticism, I would consider my labours amply rewarded.

The present book contains substantially my thesis for the Ph. D. degree in history of the Banaras Hindu University, to

whom I am thankfully grateful for their permission for its publication. I have also to acknowledge my indebtedness to the pioneer works of Mr. F.E. Pargiter, Sir Richard Fick, Dr. Ratilal Mehta, Dr. B. C. Law, Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri, and Dr. S. N. Pradhan, as also to other writers, too numerous to be named here, which have been of immense assistance to me in the preparation of this book. My thankful memories naturally go to late Dr. R. S. Tripathi, Professor of History, Banaras Hindu University, who supervised my thesis and gave me valuable help at every stage, while this work was in preparation. I am indebted to Dr. R. B. Pandey, Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Jabalpur, for his having originally suggested this subject to me for research, as also for his great scholarly help in so many ways. I would also like to thank my colleague and friend, Dr. V. S. Pathak, Reader in Ant. Ind. Hist., Culture, and Archeaology, in our University for his very kindly supplying me a few references of the JNSI. and for some general help; my erstwhile student and now friend, Shri Jayashankar Misra, M. A., for the preparation of an Index to this book ; my colleague and friend, Shri Harihar Singh of the Deptt. of Geography, B.H.U. for the sketch of a map of Kośala ; my old teacher, Dr. R. Dwivedi, to whom I read a part of my manuscript for linguistic corrections ; and Messers. Motilal Banarasidass for undertaking this publication, in which they had to cheerfully bear some unexpected troubles.

I crave the indulgence of my kind readers for a few printing mistakes, which could not be eradicated despite our best efforts, chiefly because the book had to be published in rather a quick time.

Vijayādaśamī,
B27/92-B2,
Ravindrapuri,
(Durgakund)
Varanasi-5

V. PATHAK

IMPORTANT ABBREVIATIONS

ABORI.	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona
AGI. or AG.	Ancient Geography of India—Cunningham
AIHT.	Ancient Indian Historical Traditions—F. E. Pargiter
AN.	Aṅguttara Nikāya
Ait. Brā.	Aitareya Brāhmana
Ant. Ind.	Ancient India as described in classical Literature—Mccrindle
ĀDS.	Āpastamba Dharmasūtra
Arch. Sur. Ind. Rep.	Archaeological Survey of India Annual Reports
ĀGS.	Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra
AV.	Atharvaveda
BDS.	Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra
Bhāg.	Bhāgavata Purāṇa
Br.	Brahma Purāṇa
Bd.	Brahmāṇḍa Purāna
CAGI.	Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India, Ed. Majumdar
CHI.	Cambridge History of India, Ed. Rapson
Corporate Life.	Corporate Life In Ancient India—R. C. Majumdar
DN.	Dīgha Nikāya
DKA.	The Purāṇa Texts of the Dynasties of The Kali Age—F. E. Pargiter
DPPN.	Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names—Malalasekera
EI.	Epigraphia Indica
Early History.	Early History of India—V. Smith
GDS.	Gautama Dharmasūtra
Geog. Dict.	Geographical Dictionary of Ancient And Mediaeval India—N.L. Dey

Gorakhpur Janapada.	Gorakhpur Janapada Aur Usakī Kṣatriya Jātiyāṅ (Hindi)—R B. Pandey
HAI.	Hindu Administrative Institutions—V.R.R. Dikshitar
Hist. Geog.	Historical Geography of Ancient India—B.C. Law
HCIP.	History and Culture of The Indian People, Vol I (The Vedic Age) and Vol. II (The Classical Age), Ed. R. C. Majumdar and A.D. Pusalker
Hist. Ind. Lit.	History of Indian Literature
Hist. Sans. Lit.	History of Sanskrit Literature
HV.	Harivaṁśa Purāṇa
IHQ.	Indian Historical Quarterly
IA.	Indian Antiquary
Ind. Hist. Cong. Proc.	Indian History Congress Proceedings
Jaim. Upa. Brā.	Jaiminīya Upanisad Brāhmaṇa
JBORS.	Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society
Jour. Ind. Hist.	Journal of Indian History
JAOS.	Journal of American Oriental Society
JASB.	Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal
JBBRAS.	Journal of the Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society
JNSI.	Journal of The Numismatic Society of India
JRAS.	Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland
Km.	Kūrma Purāna
Lg.	Linga Purāna
Local Govt.	Local Government In Ancient India—R.K. Mookerji
Mahāvīra.	Mahāvīra : His Life and Teachings—B.C. Law

Mbh.	Mahābhārata
MN.	Majjhima Nikāya
Mait. Saṁ.	Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā
Mārk.	Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa
Mat.	Matsya Purāṇa
NBL.	The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal—R. L. Mitra
Pad. or Padma.	Padma Purāṇa
Pāñcha. Brā.	Pāñchavimśa Brāhmaṇa
PHAI.	Political History of Ancient India—H C. Raychaudhuri
PTS.	Pāli Text Society, London
Ṛg.	Ṛigveda
SSS.	Sānkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra
Śat. Brā.	Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa
Saura.	Saura Purāṇa
Śiva.	Śiva Purāna
Some Aspects.	Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity—N.N. Law
Soc. Org.	The Social Organisation in North-East India In Buddha's Time—R. Fick (Eng. Trans.)
SN.	Saṁyutta Nikāya
State and Govt.	State and Government in Ancient India—A. S. Altekar
SBE.	Sacred Book of The East Series
Taitt. Brā.	Taittirīya Brāhmana
Taitt. Upa.	Taittirīya Upaniṣad
Taitt. Āra.	Taittirīya Araṇyaka
VR.	Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa
Vāyu.	Vāyu Purāṇa
VI. or Vedic Index.	Vedic Index of Names and Subject—A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith
Vis. or Viṣṇu.	Viṣṇu Purāṇa

THE SCHEME OF TRANSLITERATION

अ	—	a	ड	—	ḍa
आ	—	ā	ढ	—	dha
इ	—	i	ण	—	na
ई	—	ī	त	—	ta
उ	—	u	थ	—	tha
ऊ	—	ū	द	—	da
ऋ	—	ri	ध	—	dha
ए	—	e	न	—	na
ऐ	—	ai	प	—	pa
ओ	—	o	फ	—	pha
औ	—	au	ब	—	ba
अं	—	Am	भ	—	bha
अः	—	aḥ	म	—	ma
क	—	ka	य	—	ya
ख	—	kha	र	—	ra
ग	—	ga	ल	—	la
घ	—	gha	व	—	va
ङ	—	na	श	—	śa
च	—	cha	ष	—	sa
छ	—	chha	स	—	sa
ज	—	ja	ह	—	ha
झ	—	jha	क्ष	—	ksa
ञ	—	ña	त्र	—	tra
ट	—	ta	ज्ञ	—	jña
ठ	—	tha			

Note —Modern place-names have been given the spellings, which are currently in use, and no diacritical marks have been attached to them.

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CHAPTER I

SOURCES OF ENQUIRY

Introductory

The sources of ancient Indian history are generally divided into four heads, viz. the ancient literature of India, the accounts of foreign travellers, contemporary descriptions, and the testimonies of archaeology, including epigraphs, coins, monuments, terracotta, pottery, and other articles of household and general use. When all the four are harnessed to a scientific and critical study of ancient Indian history, the best results may certainly be expected. It is very seldom, however, that each one of these sources should come to the historians' aid simultaneously with the rest. With the solitary exception of excavated materials that have been discovered in the Indus valley and its chains to the east and south, the sources other than that of literature, which are available for the writing of ancient Indian history, happen to be almost post-Buddhan or post-Mauryan. As a result, the post-Mauryan or post-Buddhan history of India is sufficiently known but the same is not the case with the period that precedes them. Consequently, in matters of antiquity Indian history is limited to the days of the Buddha, the so-called beginning of her historical period[1]. Restricting Indian history within such limits, however, seems to be inadmissible. Mostly it is the result of scepticism regarding the historical value of literature as compared to other sources of our ancient history. The question arises, however, whether these various sources can claim to possess greater reliability and scientific accuracy than literary testimonies. There is no denying the fact that broad and sometime accurate outlines of political history and the period or dates of various events with their chronological

1. V Smith, Early History, PP. 9, 28

sequence have to be mostly decided either on the authority of some written document of some precise date, which could justly be accepted as historical, or on the tesmony of some historical finds, e.g., coins, inscriptions, or some such evidence. But what about those periods and ages, for which these data are not available? Are those to be given up as lost? Evidently not.

History is not political history alone. It is the record of the growth and evolution of a people as a whole in the spheres of social life, religion, culture, and ideological development. Judged on these criteria, which are generally accepted now, the literature of a people would often serve as the mirror of its history. It is true, no doubt, that one of the important ingredients of history is its chronological order and since many a work of ancient Indian literature do hardly satisfy that test, its value is seriously impaired. But all the same the value and utility of literature for writing ancient Indian history can neither be underestimated nor be overlooked. The literary records of a people are "continuous, produced in successive periods and reflect the mind of the period generally more than the conscious records of kings and emperors."[1] The casual, unintentional, objective, incidental, and matter of fact descriptions portraying the habits of life, the modes and methods of people, social, religious and cultural behaviour and institutions, that are gleaned from ancient Indian literature, besides the references to the few political institutions or happenings provide abundant grist for the historians' mill. Those descriptions, when properly sifted, are of a far more reliable nature and a better testimony as compared to the under-statements or over-statements of praising panegyrists or sometimes preconceived and prejudiced notices of foreign travellers. The latters' knowledge of India does not always seem to have been fully assimilated and betrays sometimes a lack of proper appreciation of relevant facts.

1. Presidential address by K M Panikkar. Proc Ind Hist Cong. XVIII Session, Calcutta, P. 15

The sources of pre-Mauryan history are purely literary, their notices being mostly unconscious. They are not deliberate from the historical point of view, except, of course, those of the Purānas and to a large extent of the epics. It shall be our endeavour to discuss, evaluate, and utilize in the pages to follow the various literary works with a view to chalking out the outlines of the history of Pre-Mauryan Kośala.

The Brahmanical sources of Kosalan history

The Vedic literature of India, one of the most ancient in the world, is primarily religious and deals with ritualism and philosophical thoughts. Pargiter believed that it could not be trusted, as far as the history of ancient India is concerned, for the simple reason of its being a creation of the Brāhmanas, who singularly lacked the historical sense [1] In due course, while considering the historical value of the Purānas, we shall try to show the arbitrariness of his theory of two traditions in India, the one being Brāhmanic, religious, and non-historical and the second being Kṣatriya, mundane, and historical Here it is enough to say that it seems, he over-estimated the Purānas on the one hand and under-estimated the Vedic literature on the other It is sure that the latter does not deal primarily with history but the stray references to historical persons, mentioned in their turn by the Purānas as well, are immensely valuable and cannot be dismissed on the ground that it is futile to look for history in a kind of literature, which on the very face of it is not historical but religious and spiritual. Many of the Purānic stories[2] are found in the Vedic Samhitās and their Brāhmanas and their comparative study should certainly ensure the best historical results [3]

Vedic works

1 AIHT., P. 61.

2. Cf. Jour Ind. Hist, VIII PP. 1ff

3 Vedic References to various kings of the Ikṣvāku line of Ayodhyā would be dealt with in Chapter IV.

The Sūtra literature of India forms perhaps the securest theoretical foundation of the day-to-day life of the people contemporaneous with the age of their composition as well as of a period sufficiently long after. The Gṛhyasūtras[1] can justly claim to be the best authentic sources of knowledge about the social customs, sacramental ceremonies and observances, family life, community behaviour, and popular beliefs and practices The Dharmasūtras[2] provide a mine of information regarding the laws of the community, punishments against breaches of those laws, as well as the rights, duties, and the legal limits of the governed on the one hand and those of the governors—kings or social and political institutions—on the other They throw welcome light on the then polity and government and it shall be our endeavour to make an intelligent and judicious use of the information derived from them after checking or corroborating the same through other independent historical notices, wherever possible

The Rāmāyana

Vālmīki's Rāmāyana is one of the most important sources of the Knowledge of Kośalan society, religion, polity, and culture. Its main texture is purely literary, no doubt, but it would be wrong not to accept its main plot as based on history. That, barring myths, fables, literary exaggerations, and the details representing poetic fancies, the story of Daśaratha and Rāma, which Vālmīki portrays so vividly, is undoutedly historical in its basis is abundantly proved and supported by the other epic, Mahābhārata,[3] the Purānas,[4] and the Buddhist Dasaratha

1 Some of the important Gṛhyasūtras are those of Pāraskara, Āśvalāyana, Jaiminiya and Śāṃkhāyana.

2 Important Dharmasūtras (the codes of law) are those of Gautama, Āpastamba, Baudhāyana and Manu

3. The story of Rāma is described in the Mahābhārata at four places, including the Rāmopākhyāna, viz III 147 28 38 , III, Chs 272-291 , VII 59 1-31 and XII 22. 51-62

4 Hv Ch. 42 ; Pad VI Ch 269 , Km I 21 17-53 , Br. Ch 123 , Vis IV 4, 88-103 , Bhāg IX, Chs. 10-11

Jātaka.[1] Weber was perhaps all alone in treating the story of the Rāmāyaṇa as purely allegorical[2] and despite the fact that his arguments make an interesting reading, they deserve scant consideration on account of their imaginary basis. Is it possible and admissible even for a moment that the Rāma-story, at least in its genuine kernel, was woven in Indian literature simply out of nothing and what the millions of Hindus believe as true is a total myth and falsehood? Unless it is positively proved otherwise, it has to be taken for granted that Rāma, his three brothers, and his wife, Sītā were actual royal personages and the Kernel of the story based on them is historically true.

The utilization of the Rāmāyana, however, for the reconstruction of the ancient history of Kośala in particular and India in general must be made with due caution and careful differentiation between the genuine and spurious or factual and fictitious. Mr. Pargiter is right[3], for example, in discarding the genealogical list of the Kośalan kings, that the epic supplies[4], as wrong We cannot, however, agree with him, when he says that the Rāmāyana is a Brahmanical poem and the "Brāhmanas notoriously lacked the historical sense."[5] Rather the limitations are inherent in the nature of the poem itself. It is believed to be the Ādikāvya of India and so being an ancient literary creation and the possession of a pretty vast multitude of learned society, which must have been always eager to transmit it to posterity along with its own impressions and appreciative additions, it bears many an interpolation. The net result has been that the extant Rāmāyana, though intact in its present shape for at least

1. No. 461 (Fausboll's Ed)
2. Hist. Ind. Lit. (Eng Trans.) Vol I PP 192-3
3 AIHT PP 91 ff
4 I 70 21.44 , II 110 6-35
5. Op. Cit. P. 93.

the last eighteen hundred years or so[1], contains much more than what Vālmīki originally composed. Its early readers and reciters thought it fit and necessary from their own points of view to add to it much of their own. There is no doubt about this fact at least that originally Rāma and his whole story was treated by Vālmīki, the sage poet, as a completely human story. It is generally believed that only five Kāṇḍas, i. e., from second to sixth, of the present epic are his creations and the rest, viz. the Bālakāṇḍa and the Uttarakāṇḍa are later interpolations, which were added to the original poem in the wake of Vaiṣṇavism,[2] when Rāma, like Kṛṣṇa and even Gautama Buddha, began to be worshipped as an Avatāra of Viṣṇu As far as its introduction and the last book are concerned, there does not seem anything against their being accepted as late compositions. But it may be doubted whether the whole of the Bālakāṇḍa is also a later addition. In order to make the story of Rāma a complete and composite whole, one of the necessary requirements of an epic, it seems particularly reasonable to expect that at least some portions of the first book dealing with the early life of the hero, must have been composed by Vālmīki himself. Besides these two kāṇḍas, interpolations are not wanting in the main body of the poem as well.[3] However, they are capable of being easily discerned.

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1 Jacobi (Über Das Rāmāyana, P 100) put the date of the extant Rāmāyana in the 1st or 2nd cen A D , Winternitz (Hist Ind Lit I 517) believed it to be of the 2nd Cen A D , C V Vaidya (The Riddle of the Rāmāyana PP 20 ff) thought it to have been composed between the 2nd Century B C and the 2nd Century A D.

2 Cf Rāmakathā (Hindi) by Bulcke, PP 120 ff , Jacobi, Op. Cit PP 28,50 and 64 , Muir, original Sans Texts, 2nd Ed IV PP 441 ff , Winternitz, Op Cit. Vol. I P 496 , Macdonell, Hist San. Lit , 1962, PP 255 6.

3 Refer for those interpolations to Bulcke's Rāmakathā (Hindi) PP 120 ff

The present Rāmāyana must have taken a sufficiently long period for its growth. The date of the Rāmāyana, originally written by Vālmīki, is generally put[1] between the fifth and sixth centuries B. C. on one side and the third century B. C on the other. The testimony of the Rāmāyana then, it would be appreciated, should be a sober guide in the evaluation of pre-Mauryan Kośalan history and even if the interpolations are taken into account and utilized in forming opinions and arriving at decisions, no objection could reasonably be entertained. The interpolations must have been based on a general belief of the then society, a belief that would have been prevalent form sufficiently long before. Myths and fables or ostensibly late evidence, however, cannot be taken into account and due care would be taken to distinguish the supernatural and mythical from the real and human or the imaginary and anachronistic from truly historical.

The second great epic, the Mahābhārata, is another source of encyclopaedic importance to Indian history.[2] In the contexts of its descriptions of the Kuru-Pāndava war it refers to many a great king of Kośola. Their deeds have been referred to either in the list of famous kings or as great warriors and conquerors or by way of example to drive home some important point of some code

The Mahābhārata

1 K P. Jayaswal believed (Hindu Polity P. 256, footnote) the original composition of the Rāmāyana of about 500 B. C and its revision of about 200 B. C. ; Monier Williams (Ind Epic Poetry, 1863, P. 3) and C. V. Vaidya (op. cit. p 20 and 69 put it in about 500 B C. , Jacobi (op cit. p. 101) thought it to have been composed sometime between the 8th Cen. B C, and 6th Cen. B. C. , Macdonell (Hist. Sans. Lit. 1962. p. 260) put it before 500 B C , Winternitz (op. cit. I. 517) put its original composition in the 3rd Cen B. C ; Dr Keith believed the epic to have been composed before 400 B C., Vide—Hist. Sans Lit. 1928, PP. 42-3,

2. There are some, e. g , Hopkins (JAOS. XIII P. 70), who do not find any real historical value in the epic.

or ethics. Harivaṁśa, one of its later additions and sometimes reckoned as a Purāna, gives a detailed genealogy of the solar kings of Ayodhyā [1] Some short portions of the Aikṣvāku genealogy are also found in the main body of the epic [2]

These various references of the Mahābhārata to the political personages and history or Kośala deserve to be fully utilized, sifted, and availed of for the historical study of that great Janapada and an attempt would be made in the pages to follow in that direction

The great epic is also full of portrayals of general conditions of India—social, cultural, and religious. It must be said that for the most parts and in general outlines those descriptions were true of the greater parts of this land, at least that of North India Still it cannot be claimed that they fitted in toto in all the regions of the country mentioned therein. Rather they mostly represent what might have been prevalent in the north-western portions of India and while utilizing them, one has to proceed with a good deal of caution as far as the conditions of Mid-India or north-east India are concerned. The value of the descriptions of Mahābhārata, therefore, can only be corroborative and secondary instead of original and primary in matters of considerations of Kośalan conditions, unless particular references are made to that region or any other region for that matter, as, for example, in the Karnaparva [3]. Valmiki's Rāmāyana is of greater importance and value in that respect and the accounts of the Mahābhārata shall be utilized in this monograph only when they agree more or less with that of the former or corroborate and supplement the same.

1 HV. I, 11 12 to 15 36

2 Vanaparva, Chs. 107 and 201-3

3. कुरवः सह पञ्चालाः शाल्वा मत्स्याः सनैमिषाः ।
कोशला काशपौण्ड्राश्च कालिगा मागधास्तथा ॥ VIII. 45. 14

The Purānas form perhaps the most valuable source of any historical knowledge of pre-mauryan India. Since the beginning of the present century a distinguished band of scholars has been persistent and firm enough to put forward the case of the Purānas in matters of historical researches[1] with the gratifying result that their historical value is now fully recognized. The days are gone now, when the Purāṇas along with the epics were treated as mere fables, myths, and allegories. One cannot legitimately forget in this connection the distinguished name of late Mr. Pargiter, whose pioneer work and yeoman service to the cause of Purānic studies[2] still remain perhaps the most important endeavour in the historical reconstruction of ancient India, even though all his conclusions may not be unquestionably accepted.

The Purānas

Five ingredients of a Purāna[3] have been mentioned, viz. the description of original creation, secondary creation, genealogies of gods and Ṛisi teachers, the ages of Manus, and royal genealogies alongwith royal deeds, This

1. Refer in this connection to Indic studies, Poona, 1942.

2. He wrote a number of articles in the JRAS. in the first and second decades of this century and later published his accumulated results in the form of his book 'Ancient Indian Historical Traditions', Oxford, 1922 Mr A. B Keith stongly protested against some of his theories and an interesting intellectual duel, rather a warfare of articles, between the two is found in the JRAS for the years 1914 and 1915 Refer also to 'The Purāna Pañchalakṣana' by W Kirfel An English Translation of the introduction of this book may be found in the Jour. of Sri Venkateśvara Inst. Tirupati, Vol VII and ff

3. सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वंशो मन्वन्तराणि च ।
वंशानुचरितं चैव पुराणं पंचलक्षणम् ॥ Mat. 53 65 ; Ag I. 14, Vāyu 4 10, Bd I. 1. 37-8 ; Km. I. 1 12, Śiva, V. 1. 37, Gd. I 215-14, Bhāg I. 2. 4, Vis III. 6.25.

rule of the five ingredients, 'Pañchalaksanas', as they are called, was enjoined for the Purānas most probably long before they took their present form.[1] Their latest redactions add to those five various other new subjects with the result that the Purānas, as they are found today, serve more as religious guides than as historical compositions. However, except a few[2] of them, almost all[3] adhere more or less to this classification of their subject-matter For the purposes of a historian, it is however, only the last, the Vaṃśānucharita, which is important and noteworthy. Under this section of their descriptions most of the Purānas[4] give lists of the kings of the solar race of Ayodhyā and also of Śrāvastī, though the genealogical data, which they supply, require a careful collation. The pre-Mahābhārata lists of the respective Purāṇas, which almost all of them supply, do not agree in all the steps, yet the extent of their mutual agreement is fairly large With proper scrutiny an acceptable list of the kings of the solar line of Ayodhyā can be drawn. That, inspite of their being handled through generation after generation at the hands of a varied type of Sūta-Paurāṇikas and that too in different parts of the country probably, the Purānas should have maintained their uniform character to a very great extent for at least the past two thousand years is indeed remarkable.

Regarding the post-Mahābhārata line of kings of various dynasties, most of the Purānas have nothing to say. It is

1 Cf Pargiter, AIHT P 36.

2. eg. Nāradiya and Vāmana Purānas do not fully represent the 'Pañchalakṣana'

3 Bḍ I 1. 37-8, Mat 53 65, Km I 1 12, Śiva V 1 37; Garuḍa, I 215 14, Bhāg. I. 2. 4-5, Varāha 2 4, Vis III 6 25, Ag 1 14.

4. Bḍ 3 8-214, Br Chs 6-8, Vāyu 88 8-213, Mat. 12. 25-57, Padma V 8. 124-162, HV. I Chs 10-15, Śiva Pt II. Section 5, Chs 35 39, Lg. Chs 65-66, Km I. Chs 20-21; Viṣ IV Chs 2-4; Saura 30 32 72, Kalki Pt III Chs. 3-4.

only in four of them, viz. Bhāgavata[1], Śiva[2], Matsya[3], and Viṣnu[4], that the post-Mahābhārata genealogy of Kośala is given.

It is difficult to advance any particular reason for the Purāṇic neglect of and confusion in the royal genealogies after the great Bhārata battle. Mr. Pargiter thinks[5] that there are two sets of descriptions in the Purānas, the first representing the 'past' and the second representing the 'future' and also that "the past ended and the future began at the close of the Bhārata battle or at least about a century afterwards."[6] He also developed a theory[7] that 'the past' represented the tradition, which must have come from the original Purāna and 'the future', portraying the future occurrences, developed with many new but non-traditional additions into so many of the Purānas that are found today. Accordingly, the Mahābhārata war or the century immediately after it saw the closing stages of traditional history, as embodied in the original Purāna and the 'future' described by other Purānas does hardly augment that tradition. "The absolute dearth of traditional history after that stage", he concluded, "is quite intelligible, both because the compilation of the Purāna had set a seal on tradition and because the Purāṇa soon passed into the hands of Brāhmanas, who preserved what they had received but with the Brāhmanic lack of the historical sense added nothing about later kings"[8].

Whatever be the value of Mr. Pargiter's opinions regarding the compilation of the original Purāna, the sole represen-

1. IX 12 9-16
2. Pt II Sec 5, Ch. 39 Vs 33-42
3. 271 4 17
4. Pt IV Ch 22
5. AIHT. PP 49 ff
6. Ibid PP. 53-4.
7. Ibid. PP 54 and 57
8. Ibid. P 57.

tative of the genuine tradition and a seal being set on it sometime after the great Bhārata battle, it is difficult to see eye to eye with him regarding the end of that tradition How can it be explained that the new preservers of the Purānas, the Brāhmanas did completely preserve the old tradition (which Mr. Pargiter called the Ksatriya tradition) but at the same time they neglected the continuity of the same by not adding anything new to it[1]. If they believed in the sacredness of upholding the past and practised that belief by way of learning and transmitting the Purānas to posterity, what prevented them from adding to it 'the future' ? Had it been their so-called lack of historical sense alone, as was believed by Mr. pargiter[2], 'the past' also must have been irretrievably lost.

Pargiter's views examined

Certain points, however, seem to be clear. The Mahābhārata leaves us in no doubt that there did not remain a single notable royal house in India that did not lose its princely blood and the flower of its youth in that great war of Kuruksetra The result was that so many dynasties were extinguished and the opportunity was lost for the Purānas to record them. Is it a fact then that the dynasties, which remained, did on their own part neglect the Paurānikas, the Sūtas and the Māgadhas in the wake of the confusion that followed the Mahābhārata war to the detriment of the continuance of genuine tradition ? The answer is not straight enough and no dogmatic assertion in this connection can find the real truth. Another point, which also deserves to be noted, is the fact that the post-Mahābhārata period of Indian history happened to be the age of the Solasamahājanapadas, many of whom were non-monarchical Ganas. The record of the Ganas and their history is perhaps the greatest omission in the Purānas. The reason was that it were the royal genealogies and the actions of the royal heroes, the 'Vamśānucharita',

1 Ibid
2 Ibid.

that formed their subject-matter and not the rule of the various Gaṇas.

It is certain that the continuance of the Purānic tradition fell into abeyance and it could not be fully resumed for sufficiently long Later, when the dynastic genealogies again began to be listed, the picture began to grow clearer. It can not be gauged precisely as to when this movement of Purānic resurrection began but it is almost definite that it successfully ended with the Gupta period and in the process the extant Purānas absorbed and accumulated all the contemporary thought about religious beliefs and worship, society, and culture. The old accuracy and almost the very purpose of the Purānas were lost in the face of new religious and social rivalries and animosities developed in the wake of new protestant religions—Buddhism and Jainism. The consequence has been that whatever little historical tradition about the later times is recorded in the Purāṇas is many a time vitiated by some gross inexactitudes. The latter become patent enough on a study of either the Buddhist literature or other sources, not allied to the Purānas. It would not then be critically sound and historically apt to accept as correct such Purānic inaccuracies as when they "represent Śākya as one individual, include Abhimanyu and Siddhārtha in lists of kings" and "make Prasenajita the immediate lineal successor of Rāhula[1]."

There is yet another problem of the character and reliability of the Purānas as compared to the Vedic tradition.

Pargiter's theory of two traditions

Mr. Pargiter was bold enough to put forward the theory that the Purāṇas represent what should be called a Kṣatriya tradition.[2] His views have since then been accepted as an axiom by many a

1 PHAI P. 8

2 AIHT PP 8 ff and 58 ff ; JRAS 1913, PP 900-904 , 1914, PP. 267 ff.

scholar.[1] He was, however, vigorously challenged by late Dr. Keith,[2] who greatly drew upon the vast store of his Sanskrit learning to disprove that assertion There are many who feel quite convinced by Keith's arguments.

It should be understood at the very beginning in this connection as to what are the connotations of the two respective terms—Brahmanical tradition' and 'Kṣatriya tradition.' Both of them may be understood in a double way Firstly, Brāhmanic tradition may be taken to be one, which makes the life, pursuits, or any other distinguishing feature of the Brāhmaṇas the main object of its descriptions. And likewise 'Kṣatriya tradition' may stand for those very descriptions regarding the Kṣatriyas. Secondly, these traditions may also stand for those compositions and compilations, which were exclusively made either by the Brāhmaṇas or by the Kṣatriyas respectively. As far as the first connotation is concerned, the Purānic tradition may in some sense be styled as a Kṣatriya tradition, since out of the five types of descriptions that it supplies, one is devoted to the Kṣatriyas, the genealogies of their ruling dynasties, and their historical actions—the 'Vaṁśanucharita'[3] But at the same time, it cannot be said to be exclusively a Kṣatriya tradition because of its treatment of the 'Vaṁśas'[4]—the family of gods and Ṛṣis, who were mostly Brāhmaṇas Regarding the second connotation, it is clear that no tradition in India is the exclusive creation of any one Varṇa—Brāhmaṇa or Kṣatriya and neither the Vedic nor the Purānic tradition is an exception in this respect. Mr.

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1 e g, R L Mehta, Pre-Buddhist India, P 3

2 JRAS 1914, PP 118 ff, PP 739 ff, 1031 ff, and 1915 P 143 Note

3 Vayu, 4 10, Bd I 1 37-8, Mat 53 65, Kai I 1 12 Śiva, V 1 37, Garuḍa I 215 14; Bhāg I 2 4-5, Varāha, 2 4, Vis III 6 25, Ag 1 14

4 Ibid

Pargiter seems to have confused the two connotations and treated them in a mixed manner.[1] He tried to show that Vedic tradition is of the Brāhmaṇas, while the Purānic is that of the Ksatriyas and in order to differentiate between the two, he tried to show a lot of differences in the life of Risis, i. e., the Brāhmaṇas on the one hand and the kings[2], i. e., the Ksatriyas on the other. He also held that the two social classes of ancient India must have separately wished for the perpetuation and preservation of their own respective glories and so they must have created and preserved their own separate traditions.

In our view all the differences between the Brāhmaṇas and the Ksatriyas, which Mr. Pargiter alludes to, are only artificial differences. It must be noted that these two classes were organic parts of the same body-politic of ancient India[3]. Their functions were neither those of mutual rivals, nor their interests were mutually opposed and they did not pull their respective weights in opposite directions As Mr. C. V. Vaidya said, "the two were friends and in many cases even accomplices of one another".[4] Further, if the age (pre-Mahābhārata age), which Mr. Pargiter makes the chief object of his study, is taken into account, his whole premise seems to fall through in the face of the flexible conditions of the then Indian society, that was based primarily on the Guṇa and Karma theory[5] and in which changes of Varṇa were not

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1. AIHT Chs. II and V.
2 Ibid P 4
३. ब्रह्मणि अनुपमा दृष्टिः क्षात्रमप्रतिमं बलम् ।
तयोः यदाचरतः सार्धं तदा लोकं महीयते ॥ Mbh. Vanaparva. 36 16, Ādiparva, 149. 49, Refer also to Manusmriti, IX 322
4 C. V Vaidya, JBBRAS, XXIV, P. 33
5. Refer to Mbh, XII Ch 188; XIII 143. 44-58; Bhāg. VII. 11. 31-35; Bhavisya, Brahmaparva, 42 45.

impossible.[1] Can it be claimed even for a moment that the whole of the Vedic literature is the sole creation of the Brāhmaṇas or that its sole function is the glorification and the perpetuation of what the Brāhmaṇas held sacred, valuable, and dear to their own hearts ? Is it conceivable that they exhibited their own selfish interests in the creation and preservation of that sacred lore ? Do we not find many Kṣatriyas[2] as sacrificers, seers, and philosophers ? Do we not come across the fact that some of the highest flights of philosophical imagination are those made by the Ksatriyas like Aśvapati Kekaya,[3] Janaka,[4] and Viśvāmitra ?[5]

The Vedic and Purāṇic traditions contrasted

Mr. Pargiter also tried to compare and contrast the Purāṇic tradition with that of the Vedic Literature.[6] In historical reckoning, however, only those two kings, positions, or sets of circumstances can be attempted to be legitimately compared, which can be fairly said to be more or less similar in their intents and purposes on the one hand and opportunities and circumstances on the other. No common ground, however, stands between the Vedic and Purāṇic traditions. The first is patently religious, sacrifical, and philosophical, while the

1 Refer to Mbh I 137 14-15, IX 39 35-37; Viśvāmitra's is an example in this respect

2 Hiranyanābha Kauśalya's is a prominent example in this respect He learnt the Sāmaveda Samhitā from Sukarmā and taught it to his own five hundred disciples—Viṣṇu, III 6 3-5

3 Many learned Brāhmanas are said to have gone to Aśvapati, the Kekaya King, to learn the Vaiśvānara Vidyā. Chhāndogya Upa V 11 4 and Śat Brā X 6 1 2.

4 Janaka is referred to have asked questions of great Sacrificial and philosophical import and taught great Brāhmanas, like Yājñavalkya Śat Brā. XI 3. 1 2-4, Jaim Brā I 19 and again Śat Brā XI 6 2 1-10

5 To Ṛiṣi Viśvāmitra are ascribed almost all the Sūktas of the 3rd Maṇḍala of the Ṛigveda

6 Op Cit Ch I

second is professedly historical, political, and mundane. In fact, what the one is, the other is not, and vice-versa. It is no wonder then that the Vedas do not supply as much historical data (relating to political history, of course) as the Purāṇas do; that they do not follow the chronological sequence ; that they do not deal with the Aryan occupation of India, or that they do not refer to so many of the most famous kings of ancient India, who made themselves famous. The silence of the Vedic works on these matters, however, provides the grounds of complaint for Mr. Pargiter against them.[1] Indeed, it is rather judging the Vedic literature against what it is professedly not than for what it is.

The next is the question of the Purānas, which Mr. Pargiter called the truly genuine historical tradition and a tradition of the Ksatriyas.[2] That they really represent the ancient Indian approach to history—not absolutely uumarred by mythological confusions, of course, is granted and Mr. Pargiter's researches leading upto more or less complete recognition of the Purānas deserve the fullest praise and recognition Bul how can they be called an exclusively Kṣatriya tradition in the sense that they were created and preserved by them alone ? It appeared to him that because the Vedic literature does not supply any pure historical tradition and that because it is Brāhmanic in its creation and descriptions, the Brāhmanas must have lacked the historical sense. He seems to have further followed up this reasoning and believed that since historical tradition must not have been absent in ancient India, it has certainly to be traced in the Kṣatriya class, which is represented in the Purānas.[3] It was difficult, however, even for him to maintain all along that the Purāṇas are the sole creations of the Ksatriyas and so when anything was found, which either did not suit his theory or could not be successfully sifted in true historical setting, he arbitrarily

1 Op. Cit P. 7
2 Op Cit P 6.
3 AIHT. Ch. I.

fathered it on the Brāhmaṇas on the basis of his axiom that the Brāhmaṇas completely lacked the historical sense.[1] He was able to prove only this much that the original names, Sūtas and Māgadhas, were not caste-names but were derived from the countries to which they belonged.[2]. But it cannot be claimed that he has also been able to prove that they were exclusively Kṣatriyas ? There can be no ground for any definite and clear cut differentiation between the original Purāṇa, which he thought to have represented the 'past',[3] a truly Kṣatriya tradition, and the extant Purāṇas, which he himself accepted to be 'Brāhmanic compilations'.[4] Unless the exact subject-material of the original Purāṇa is differently found and clearly proved to be the creation of the Kṣatriyas alone representing a tradition going back to quite olden days, the Purāṇic tradition cannot be styled as a Kṣatriya tradition. Rather the proof is otherwise. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa says[5] that the Adhvaryu-Brāhmaṇas learnt and taught the Purāṇa like the Veda itself In the Chhāndogyopaniṣad,[6] Nārada in an answer to Sanatakumāra says that he had learnt many 'Vidyās' including the fifth Veda, the Itihāsapurāṇa. It is clear that even the original Purāṇa also was learnt and taught by the Brāhmaṇas. It is also certain that the Purāṇic tradition has been preserved by the Brāhmaṇas for the last at least three thousand years with the willing co-operation and grateful recognition of the ruling Kṣatriya class.

1. Ibid P 61.
2 Ibid P. 16
3 Ibid PP 53-54
4. JRAS 1913 P 889
5 तानुपदिशति पुराण वेदः सोऽयमिति किंचित्
पुराणमाचक्षीतेवमेवाध्वर्युः ।
XIII. 14. 3-13.
6 सहोवाचर्ग्वेदं भगवोऽध्येमि यजुर्वेदं च सामवेदमाथर्वणं
चतुर्थमितिहासपुराणं पंचमं वेदानां वेद पित्र्यं च
etc. VII. 1 2.
7. JRAS 1914 PP. 118ff.

The Purāṇas are sometimes decried as historically useless[1], chiefly because of their late compositions. Their latest redactions are generally accepted to be contemporaneous more or less with the Gupta period[2]. There is no denying the fact that the purānas, as they are found today, are the creations of a period of ancient Indian history, when the Avatāra cult had sufficiently established itself on the religious soil of India, as their respective ascriptions[3] to Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśa, the trinity of Hindu gods, clearly show. But it is clear that their nucleus existed since the later Vedic times and the Purāna as an important branch of learning is often referred to in the Vedic literature

Antiquity of the Purānas

The Atharva Veda refers[4] to the Purāna alongwith the Ṛik, Sāma, Yajus and Chhandas and the way it is bracketed with these main branches of learning shows its importance. More allied subjects are mentioned in another

1 Keith, JRAS. 1914, PP 740-1

2 Ibid, PP. 740 and 1021, fleet, JRAS 1912 PP. 1046ff, Pargiter, JRAS, 1913, P. 255 and AIHT. PP. 49-50, Dr. Beni Pd. (Theory of Govt P 185) put the age of their creation between 5th and 10th centuries A. D., Refer also to IHQ. VIII. PP 749ff, ; Smith, Early History, PP 12 and 24, ABORI XVIII, P 265

3 The Purānas are ascribed to the trinity in the following manner –

तत्र शैवानि शैव च भविष्यं च द्विजोत्तमाः ।
मार्कण्डेयं तथा लैगं वाराहस्कन्दमेव च ॥
मत्स्यमन्यत्तथा कौर्मं वामनं च मुनीश्वराः ।
ब्रह्माण्ड च दशेमानि त्रीणि लक्षाणि संख्यया ॥
विष्णोर्हि वैष्णवं तच्च तथा भागवतं तथा ।
नारदीयं पुराण च गारुडं वैष्णवं विदुः ॥
ब्राह्मं पाद्म ब्रह्मण्ये द्वे अग्नेराग्नेयमेककम् ।
सवितुर्ब्रह्मवैवर्तमेवमष्टादशस्मृतम् ॥ Skanda Purāṇa, Śivārahasya Kd.

४. ऋचः मामानि छंदांसि पुराणं यजुषा सह । उच्छिष्टाज्जज्ञिरे ॥
XI. Anuvāka 4. 7. 24

Mantra[1], where with the Purāna are enumerated the Itihāsa, the Gāthās, and the Nārāśamsīs. The Śatapatha[2] Brāhmaṇa informs that the Purāna was taught by the Brāhmaṇa Advaryu like a Veda. It is enumerated there[3] as a regular science to be taught by the Brāhmanas along with the Vedas and the Itihāsas. The Purāna is frequently referred to alongwith the Itihāsa in the older Upanisads also, e. g., the Vrihadāranyaka[4], Chhāndogya[5] and the Maitrāyaṇopanisad[6]. In one of those references[7], it is said that Nārada went to Sanatkumāra and wanted to learn something from him. The latter asked as to what the former had himself learnt and in reply Nārada recounted his knowledge of many 'Vidyās', which included the Itihāsa-purāna. It is clear from that reference that the Itihāsapurāna was not only as important as the Veda but gradually it had acquired the position of being the fifth Veda itself. Indeed, the Matsya Purāna claims[8] that the Purāna was the first literary creation of Lord Brahmā. And if the Purānas claim[9] that a

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१. इतिहासस्य चैव सपुराणस्य च गाथाना च नाराशंसीना चप्रिय धाम भवति य एवं वेद । XV Anuvāka 1 6-12.

२. तानुपदिशति पुराण वेदः सोऽयमिति किंचित् पुराणमाचक्षीतेवमेवा-ध्वर्युः । XIII 14 3 13

3 XI 5 7 1 and XIV 5 4 10.

4 II. 4 10 and IV 1 6.

५. ते वा एतेऽथर्वाङ्गिरस एतदितिहासपुराणमभ्यतपंस्तस्याभितप्तस्य etc. III 4 1

6 VI 3 2

७. सहोवाचर्ग्वेदं भगवोऽध्येमि यजुर्वेदं च सामवेदमाथर्वण चतुर्थमितिहासपुराण पंचम वेदानां वेदपित्र्यं च etc Chhāndogya Upa. VII. 1 2

8 पुराणं सर्वशास्त्राणां प्रथम ब्रह्मणा स्मृतम् । 53.3

9 यो विद्याच्चतुरोवेदान्सांगोपनिषदोद्विजः ।
न चेत्पुराणं संविद्यान्नैवसस्याद्विचक्षणः ॥
इतिहासपुराणाभ्या वेदं समुपबृंहयेत् ।
विभेदल्पश्रुताद्वेदो मामयं प्रहरिष्यति ॥
Padma V 2. 50-2, Śiva V 1, 35 6, Vāyu 1 200-1,

Brāhmana cannot call himself to have fully attained mastery in knowledge unless he is proficient in them (Purānas); or that the Veda is afraid of its being hurt by one, who is deficient in tradition; and so the former should be reinforced by the latter, they do not seem to have made an exaggerated account of themselves.

It would also be clear from the above that the Purāna is referred to in the singular, a pointer to the probability that originally there was only one Purāṇa. It was treated to be as good as the Vedas and also that it formed a composite whole in association with the Itihāsa, which in turn is the constant companion of the Purāna in almost all the notices. It is not, of course, a fact that the plural use, viz., the 'Itihāsapurāni'[1] is not made in the Vedic literature[2] But, as Mr. Jackson seems to have thought,[3] it is possible that such notices are mistakes committed on account of the immediate use of the plural numbers in Gāthāh and Nārāśamsīh alongwith the Itihāsapurāna. The Matsya Purāna confirms one in this belief, when it says[4] that originally there was only one Purāna extending into one hundred crores (of ślokas). Vālmīki s Rāmāyana[5] refers to the Purāna as a prophecy made in bygone days. Kautilya also uses the word 'Purāna' in the singular and includes it in the Itihāsa alongwith the Itivritta (history), Akhyāyikā (tale), Udāharana (illustrated story), Dharmaśāstra, and the Arthaśāstra.[6] He also puts the Itihāsaveda on an

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1 कल्पान् गाथानाराशसीहीतिहासपुराणानि etc Aśva Gri S. III 3.

2. Refer to Āśva Gri S VI. 6, Taitt. Ār III. 9.

3 JBBRAS. XXI p 67.

4 पुराणमेकमेवासीत्तदाकल्पान्तरेऽनघ ।
त्रिवर्गसाधनं पुण्यं शतकोटिप्रविस्तरम् ॥ 53 4
It is an evident exaggeration that the original Purāna ran into one hundred crores of ślokas.

5. पुराणे सुमहत्कार्यं भविष्यति मयाश्रुतम् । V. R. IV. 62. 3

6 पश्चिममितिहासश्रवणे ॥ पुराणमितिवृत्तमाख्यायिकोदाहरणं धर्मशास्त्र-मर्थशास्त्रं चेतीतिहासः ॥ Artha BK. I. 5. 13-14

equal footing with the Atharva Veda [1] Though it is difficult to say whether Kautilya referred to the original Purāna or not, Mr. Pargiter seems to have rightly concluded that the Purāṇas existed as definite works at least as early as the fourth century B. C.[2]—a conclusion accepted by late Mr. Vincent Smith[3] as substantially correct

The Buddhist Literature

The reformatory religious movements of the 6th century B. C., particularly Buddhism, mark a new epoch in Indian History. "It is only with the Buddhist literature that we gradually emerge into the broad daylight of history and we have seen that the darkness of the history of the Vedic and the epic literature is somewhat illuminated by this light"[4]. The light is not, however, inherent in the character of that literature so much as it emanates from the more or less settled and generally accepted dates of the various landmarks in the career of the Buddha himself[5]. No personality or event prior to him is so much known or chronologically established

The character of the Buddhist literature

1 अथर्ववेदेतिहासवेदौ च वेदाः । Ibid BK I 3 2
2 op cit P 55
3 Early History P 24
4 Winternitz Hist Ind Lit Eng Trans , II. P. 1
5. The most important date in this connection is that of his Mahāparinirvāna Though different traditions speak of it differently, yet a date between 483 B C. to 486 B C is now generally accepted as the date of his death. For detailed discussion of this problem refer to J. F. Fleet, JRAS 1909 PP. 1ff, 323ff., 981ff , 1910, 1308ff , 1912, 239ff , V. Gopala Aiyer, Ind. Ant, Vol 37, PP. 341ff. , Gieger, The Mahāvaṃsa Trans. PP XXII. ff., J. Charpentier, Ind. Ant Vol 43 PP 130ff ; Rhys. Davids, CHI I. P. 171 ff., K P Jayaswal JBORS PP 67 ff, 97ff, III. PP. 425ff ; IV. PP 264ff. , Smith, JRAS. 1918, PP. 543ff. ; Early History P 49ff. , Also see Ind Ant. for the years 1918-1920 for some other articles by R. C Majumdar, R. P. Chanda and K. G S Aiyer

as that of the Lord, for which, of course, due credit must be given to the relevant Buddhist literature. Because of this advantage, the chronology and historical setting of the contemporary politics have been sufficiently worked out. The collaboration of the Hindu Purāṇic literature also in this respect has not been less valuable in finding out the various dates.[1] But apart from this, the Buddhist literature itself does not treat the ancient history of India in any more remarkable and chronological manner than the Vedic literature. Its notices as well are, like those of the Vedic works, accidental, casual, and isolated. Nor, in comparison to the Vedic literature, the Buddhist literature can be said to be less deficient in dates or chronology[2] about either its own composition or the notices it makes and for that matter it cannot be styled to be any more historical or political.

The Buddhist literature, however, is creditable for the fact that it supplements the Vedic and Purānic works in more ways than one. We have already seen that the Brāhmana tradition is deficient in its historical records and notices as far as the post-Mahābhārata history is concerned. The Buddhist works fill in that gap to a very considerable extent as they talk of Indian politics, society, religion, and culture of the period, from about 800 B. C. to 250 B. C. Because of its protestant and reformatory nature it treats much of those subjects and sections of society, which the Brahmanical literature omits or neglects, and thus it illumines the dark spots of the earlier literature. But for the Buddhist works, the political, social, and religious importance of India in the days more or less contemporaneous with the Buddha and also of Mahāvīra would have remained, like many other periods of Indian history, unknown.

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1. There is no doubt about the Purānic influence on the Buddhist working out of the Buddha's genealogy Cf Thomas, The Life of Buddha, Intro. XXII.
2. e. g., the date of the death of the Buddha himself varies by centuries in the Pāli and Samskrit traditions of Buddhism.

It is not possible to discuss in detail here whether the Tripitaka as it is found today, represents the real words of the Buddha himself, as the great mass of the Buddhist believers credulously accept, or it represents his teachings in the words of his disciples[1] Whatever the truth, one thing is certain that the great teacher himself spoke much by way of elucidation of his doctrines and the finalisation of the discipline, a necessary requirement for the long life of his religion and order. Even though it was compiled later, his words, as coming from memory through generations of monks, may be taken to have formed the vast mass of the actual Suttas themselves What are undoubtedly of late, are represented by way of introductions to the Suttas indicating the time, place, and opportunity or the immediate spur for the Buddha to preach those Suttas Since the introductions and the actual Suttas are found to be in perfect accord with each other, the conditions described in them may be taken to be representing the age, contemporaneous with the Buddha, unless otherwise mentioned

The Tripitaka

In view of the above, one may be on safe grounds to utilize the same for the resuscitation of Indian history of the Pre-Mauryan times. Kośala[2] being the chief land of the creation of that literature, its history stands to avail the sifting of historical, political, social, religious, cultural, and economic notices, that the Pāli Buddhist literature makes

1 It is believed that the Pāli canon is the creation of about the 3rd century B C and its five Nikāyas were complete in texts by the 2nd century B C. Cf Winternitz. Op. Cit Vol II PP 15-18.

2 The Buddha himself was a Kośalan (Sutta, Nipāta, Sarnath Ed p 82) For his various associations to Kośala refer to the chapters on Geography and Non-Monarchical Ganas ahead He spent as much as twenty-five rainy seasons of his preacher's life in Śrāvasti, the Kośalan capital, alone. Vide DPPN. II. PP. 1126-7 and SN. (Sarnath Hindi Ed. Introduction, P 2).

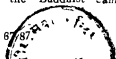
about that Janapada in particular. There are some other references also in it, which may be generally utilised in the knowledge of Kośalan conditions, since they can be said to have commonly applied to all parts of northern India. The period, to which they can be ascribed, would be the same as the age of the development of that literature, i. e., from about the date of the Buddha's birth to the time of the Mauryas.

The Pāli canon supplies by way of examples, precepts, logical arguments, and stories the very basis of Buddhist protestantism and casually also of other contemporary sects. The grounds of his stand against the then social and religious order can be understood by a study of the Tripitaka alone. It represents the force and logic behind the Buddha's revolt against the degeneration of the socio-religious system.

Very little concrete efforts have been made, however, to utilize the Tripitaka for weaving out the political and historical conditions of ancient India. Mr. Ratilal Mehta's work[1], a brilliant attempt no doubt, gives only a partial picture because it is based primarily on the Jātakas alone The whole Tripitaka has to be taken into account in that respect Confining ourselves to the information the Pāli Canon supplies about Kośala, a few examples would suffice to show its political and historical value. Our whole knowledge about Mahākosala, Prasenajita, and Vidūdabha is almost exclusively supplied by the Pāli Canon, which is no doubt partly supported by the Sanskrit Buddhist works.[1] It is unique that one complete Sutta of the Samyutta Nikāya, the Kosala Samyutta[2], is devoted to the then life as it obtained in Kośala and to its ruler prasenajita. A good deal of Kośalan polity and methods or details of its day-to-day

1 Pre Buddhist India, Examiner Press, Bombay, 1939.

2 Avadānaśataka is full of references to Prasenajita, Śrāvastī and the millionaire patron of the Buddhist Samgha, Anāthapindika.

3. SN. (Sarnath Hindi Ed.) Pt. I. PP 67/87.

rule are supplied either by the Atītavatthus or by the introductions to the various Jātakas. Prominent amongst them are Janasandha Jātaka,[1] Bhaddasāla Jātaka,[2] Rājovāda Jātaka,[3] Tesakuna Jātaka,[4] Kalāya Mutthi Jātaka,[5] Kosiya Jātaka,[6] Nana-cchanda Jātaka,[7] Kacchapa Jātaka,[8] Attha-karana Sutta,[9] Mahāgovinda Jātaka[10] (Sutta), and Dhammachetiya Sutta,[11] etc.

The Pāli Buddhist works supplement our information, gleaned from the Brāhmana Dharmasūtras, about the principles and practice of Judicial administration in ancient India, particularly in the regions of Mid-India including Kośala. While the Dharmasūtras talk mainly of the principles, the Pāli Canon speaks of the judgments and punishments actually awarded and in that respect the latter seems to be more valuable, though on a very limited scale, to the antiquarian. About the sources of such knowledge special reference may be made, besides the Jātakas,[12] to the attha-karana Sutta,[13] Pāyāsirājañña sutta,[14] Mahādukkhakkhandha

1. Cowell's Eng Ed Vol IV P 109.
2 Ibid Vol IV. PP 92 ff
3 No 334
4. No 521
5 No 176
6 No 226
7. No 289.
8 Fausboll's Ed II. P 359, DPPN. I P 481.
9 SN (Sarnath Hindi Ed) Pt I P. 71, PTS. Ed Pt I P 74
10. DN (Sarnath Hindi Ed) P 170, Bom Uni Pub Pt II. P 140
11. MN (Sarnath Hindi Ed) P 365
12 Fausboll's Ed Vol. I. PP. 294 and 385, Vol II P 139, Vol III PP 105, 176, 326 and 352 and Vol V. PP 228, 230.
13 SN (PTS. Ed.), Pt. I P 74, (Sarnath Hindi Ed.) Pt I. P. 71.
14 DN (Sarnath Hindi Ed.) P 201, Bom Uni. Pub Pt II. P 234.

Sutta[1] Chulla Mahādukkhakkhandha Sutta,[2] Bāla Paṇḍita Sutta[3] and Pātali Sutta.[4] Besides these, various other Suttas from the anguttara Nikāya[5] and references in the Vinayapitaka[6] either supplement or corroborate that knowledge.

The Jātakas form part of the Tripitaka, but because of their importance special reference may be made here to them.

The importance of the Jātakas

Their present form is generally taken to form that portion of the Tripiṭaka, which developed comparatively late[7] and on this account there seems to lurk some suspicion in some minds[8] about their value in the determination of the past. It has been held by some scholars[9] on the contrary that despite their late compositions, the Jātakas may be taken to portray Indian conditions as they were in the days of the Buddha or at least in the time of their present redactions, i. e., the 3rd and the 2nd centuries B. C. The whole process of their development, however, is difficult to be satisfactorily determined. What seems to be certain is that popular stories about the past must have been current since sufficiently long before

1 MN. (Sarnath Hindi Ed) P 54

2 Ibid P 59

3 Ibid PP 532 ff

4 SN (Sarnath Hindi Ed) Pt II P 596

5 Refer to PTS Ed Pt I PP 47-8, PP 74 ff, P. 128, II P 112 and III P 208

6 Sarnath Hindi Ed P 461, PTS Ed Pt III. P 61, Pt IV PP 223 4

7 Refer in this connection to winternitz Op Cit II. P 120, R L Mehta, Op Cit XXIII, Fick, Soc Org, preface IX-X; Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, PP, 135-7, Mrs. Rhys Davids, JRAS 1901, PP 859 ff.

8 e g. U N. Ghosal, IHQ XXI PP. 4.5, Winternitz. IHQ IV 12 14.

9 G. Buhler, On the origin of The Indian Brāhmi Alphabet, II Ed Strassburg, 1898, PP. 16 ff., Mrs. Rhys Davids, JRAS. 1901 PP 859 ff

the Buddha. The last setting of those stories by the Buddhist monks into the life-incidents of thier master and putting them into his mouth, whom they credulously believed to know everything about his own past, must have offered serious occasions for their colouring.

The most important in the Jātakas from the historical point of view are the introductory stories, 'Paccuppannavatthu', i. e, the occasion for the Buddha to tell the stories of his past births and the 'Atītavatthu', i e. the stories of the past themselves In the 'Paccuppannavatthus' the Jātakas supply abundant information about the contemporary politics of the Buddha-days And as far as these preambles are concerned, it is difficult to locate or point out the occasion for any colouring The incidents seem to be simple matters, simply related, and many a time supported by other sections of the Tripitaka. Their importance, as far as the monks were concerned, was in the moral of their descriptions

The 'Atītavatthus' of the Jātakas, especially their Gāthās or the inter-stories, are equally important to the antiquarian because of their description of the past. Some of the stories relate to ancient Kośalan kings like Māndhātā[1], Muchalinda or Mujalinda[2], i. e.. Muchukunda, Sagara[3], Bhagīrasa[4], i e, Bhagīratha, Dudipa[5], i. e, Dilīpa, and Rāma Dāśarathī[6]. The various Gāthās themselves shall be discussed later in their proper places.

It cannot be said that all the stories about those Kośalan heroes in the various accounts—Vedic, Purānic, and Jātaka,

1 Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed) II P. 311, III P 454, See also Hardy's Manual of Buddhism, PP. 128 140, Rockhill, The life of the Buddha, PP 7 9.

2 Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed.) VI P. 202

3 Ibid VI P 203

4 Cf. Pre-Buddhist India by R L, Mehta, P. 6.

5. Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed) VI P 203.

6 Ibid. IV PP 124 130

agree in all the details but the wide references to them indisputably point to the historicity of those heroes and the permanent place they created for themselves in public estimation and tradition by their actions. What is more important is the indirect support to the Purāṇic tradition, which is a pointer to the fact of the latter's genuineness.

Mention may be made here also of the commentaries on the Pāli canon mostly written by the great commentator, Buddhaghosa[1]. There shall be occasions to utilize them in the following pages chiefly because of their corroborative value. There is little point in totally dicarding them simply because they were written late, some seven or eight hundred years after the period of our enquiry ends. What matters in this respect is the tradition that the Pāli commentaries rely upon and unless that is proved to be untrue and totally devoid of history, their testimonies, sifted and checked, of course, with due care and caution, must be utilized for historical reconstruction.

The Pāli commentaries

What has been said above of the Pāli commentaries is also true of some Sanskrit Buddhist works, which help us in knowing the ancient History of Kośala. Mahāvastu[2] is one of those works, which describe the life and parentage and also the family connection of the Buddha in details.

Sanskrit Buddhist works

The Lalitavistara[3] is a sacred Mahāyāna text, which

1. Buddhaghosa was a Brāhmana resident of Bodhagayā, very well versed in the Brāhmanic lore but was later on converted to Buddhism under the influence of a Buddhist monk, Revata. To complete his Buddhist studies he went to Ceylon during the reign of Mahānāma (First half of the fifth century A. D.) and wrote his Pāli commentaries there. Vide-Wenternitz, Op. Cit. Vol II PP 190-1 and PP. 609-11.

2. Ed. Senart, 3 Vols., Paris, 1882 1897.

3. First Edition by R. L. Mitra, Bib. Ind. 1877 ; Eng. Trans R. L. Mitra, Bib. Ind. 1886 , Lefmann's Ed. Hiedelberg Uni., 1902.

describes the life of the Buddha from his birth till his first sermon in a manner as if he were a deity The very title of the book 'Lalitavistara' suggests that it takes the life of the Master as sport and consequently miracles are prominently featured as part of his life-truely in the way of the Mahāyānist school The thread of the Buddha's life, however, can be successfully worked out from those somewhat unhistorical details and a believable picture of the great teacher may be drawn. On the other hand, its casual and not unoften mundane and matter of fact descriptions about the Śākyan Kings (members of the Śākya Gana), their ways of life, Śuddhodana's stewardship of their state, and the descriptions of Kapilavastu along with those of other contemporary things are quite important materials to be utilized mainly in support and corroboration of what we know of those topics from other earlier sources Rhys Davids doubted the historical value of the Lalitavistara[1]. It seems, however, that he is a little wide of the mark

Other works of casual importance for our purpose are those of the great Buddhist poet, Aśvaghoṣa[2], chiefly his Buddhacharitakāvya and Saundaranandakāvya, in which he describes the life of the Buddha and his half-brother, Nanda.

The Avadānaśataka of the 2nd century A D also supplies occasional information about the life of the Buddha, his order, his main worshippers and the respect he commanded at the hands of the royal personages of his own days, chiefly Prasenajita. The Divyāvadāna, though of a later date than the Avadānaśataka, is equally informative about the Buddha and the Buddhists.

1. Hibbert lectures, 1881, P 197.
2. He was the court poet of the Kuṣana Indian King, Kaniṣka (f Winternitz Op Cit Vol I P 513; Vol II P. 257, PHAI. P 476

Miscellaneous

Besides the Brahmanical and Buddhistic sources, noticed in the foregoing pages, recourse shall be had in the following pages to some such stray works as cannot be put under any particular class. Their value is only secondary but very often corroborative and hence quite useful. The most important of these are some Jain works. Though quite late in their composition, they are full of traditional information. Other works in that catagory are the Arthasāstra of Kautilya, the Manusmriti, the Raghuvaṁśa of Kālidāsa, and the notices of Magasthanes, Fa-Hien, and Huien Tsiang.

Archaeological sources

We have at our disposal very little archaeological data that could materially verify our literary testimonies. Of the pre-Buddhist age of kośalan history we possess no archaeological testimony at all, though we are not so handicapped with respect to the contemporary age of the Buddha or the Post-Buddhist period of our enquiry

The modern twin villages of Sāhet-Māhet[1], situated on the south bank of the Rapti river in the Gonda District of Uttar Pradesh were identified with ancient Śrāvastī by Mr. A. Cunningham and excavations were conducted there on several occasions. These excavations did not only prove the correctness of that identification but they also brought to our notice various establishments connected with the life and order of the Buddha[2]. Mr. Cunningham also found the whole of the Jetavana garden depicted[3] in some of the Bharhut sculptures, which represent amongst many things the action of Anāthapindika covering the whole ground of Jetavana with gold

Sāhet-Māhet

1 Arch. Sur. Ind. Rep Vol. I. PP. 330 ff., 1900-1. PP. 1 ff., See also JRAS, 1908, PP. 1098 ff. and 1910-1, PP. 1 ff.

2. Arch Sur. Ind. Report 1907-8, PP. 81-3; 1908 9, PP. 133-4

3 Cf. Ibid Vol. XI P. 80.

coins—a condition of prince Jeta, the owner of the garden, for its sale. The astonished but defeated Jeta is also shown in the reliefs. Some excavations of the Aṅgulimālya Stūpa were made by Mr. W. C. Benet[1].

The Rummindei Pillar

The discovery of an Aśokan pillar at Rummindei in 1896 finally located the famous Lumbini grove, the birth-place of Lord Buddha. The pillar is found at a shrine, about a mile North of the village Paderia and two miles North of the Bhagawanpur village, situated in the northern direction of the Basti district of Uttar Pradesh in modern Nepal. It commemorates in an inscription the birth of the Master there[2] and thus suggests that Kapilavastu must not have been very far off

Excavations at Kasaya

Important excavations[3] have been made at the Kasaya town, which is situated in the Deoria District of Uttar Pradesh about 37 miles to the east of the Gorakhpur city. The most important finds[4] have been those of a Stūpa containing a colossal image of the Buddha in the Mahāparinirvāna posture On their basis, Kasaya's identification[5] with the ancient city of Kusinārā (Kuśāvatī) of the Buddhist days or, to be more precise, with the place[6] where the Buddha attained his Nirvāna, has been finally aceepted. The correctness of this identification has been further proved by the excavations of

1 Gazetteer of Oudh, Vol III P 236

2 Cf Hultzsch, Inscriptions of Aśoka, P 164, D R Bhandarkar Aśoka, 3rd Ed PP 243-4, JRAS 1897, P 429

3 Arch Sur Ind Rep 1861-2, PP 77-83, 1875-7 (Vol. XVIII) PP 55 ff, 1905 6, PP 66 ff., 1910-11, PP. 63 ff

4. Ibid

5 Cf PHAI P 126, CAGI. PP 493, 713-4; Arch. Sur Ind. Rep XXII PP 16 ff.

6 Cf R B Pandey, Gorakhpur Janapada (Hindi), P. 77.

To Face P 32

[Jetavana Anādhapediko Deti Kotisanthatena Ketā]

a Vihāra[1] at the place, which contained clay seals with inscriptions[2] containing the Great Demise of the Master.

Mention may be made in the end to the famous Piprāwā Vase inscription[3], which commemorates the deposit of the sacred remains of the Buddha. Besides that, various hoards of punch-marked (sometimes even four-marked) coins of Post-Buddha but pre-Mauryan Kośala have been discovered[4]. They are important, however, only from the numismatic point of view. Nothing is known from them regarding the political history of Kośala, since they neither give us the names of the monarchs, who issued them, nor the date of their issue, and so we shall have little opportunity to utilize them.

Howsoever little, this archaeological information is proposed to be utilized in this work. It is likely, future excavations at important ancient sites along the banks of Sarayū and Rapti might supply some more archaeological evidence to corroborate our literary testimonies. But we have to suspend our judgement till that is available.

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1 Arch. Sur. Ind Rep 1910 11, P 71.

2. 'महापरिनिर्वाण भिक्षुसङ्घ' and 'महापरिनिर्वाणभिक्षुसंघस्य' Ibid

3 Refer to JRAS, 1898, PP. 387 ff., 576, 586 ff.; 1899, PP. 42 ff; 1901, P. 398 ff.; 1905, 526 ff., 540 ff., 679 ff; 1906, P. 149 ff.. IA XXXVI. PP 117 ff.

4 Refer to JNSI. II. PP. 15-64; III. PP. 51-2, PP. 1-5, Numismatic Supplement, No XLV. PP 9-12.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF ANCIENT KOŚALA

Kośala : A Mahājanapada of north-east India

There is no reference to Kośala as a country in the Ṛgveda, though two of its great conqueror kings, Ikṣvāku[1] and Māndhātā[2], find mention in it. In the later Vedic age, there is a mention in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa[3] of the river Sadānīrā, i. e., the great Gandaki as forming the boundary between the two Janapadas, Kośala[4] and Videha. Various kings, known to have belonged to the line of Ikṣvāku, the Kośalan king of Ayodhyā, are also referred to in the Brāhmanas, the Upanisads and the Sūtras[5]. The Atharvaveda describes the construction, wealth, and greatness of Ayodhyā[6], the first capital of Kośala, and it may be presumed that by the time of its composition Kośala had become fairly popular. Pāṇini in his Astādhyāyī makes a mention of Kośala[7], which seems to have

Brahamanical notices

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1. यम्येद्द्वाकुरुपव्रते रेवान्मराय्येधते । दिवीव पंचकृष्टयः ॥ X 60 4
2. यो अग्निः सप्तमानुषः श्रितो विश्वेषु सिंधुषु ।
   तमागन्म त्रिपस्त्यं मंधातुर्दस्युहन्तममग्निंयज्ञेषु पूर्व्यं
   नभंतामन्यकेसमे ॥ VIII. 39 9
3. I. 4 1. 1 etc.
4. Kośalc and Kosala, both the forms are found to have been used in the ancient Sanskrit literature. The former one is accepted in this work on account of its larger use scattered throughout the whole Indian literature.
5. Refer to 'Vedic Index of names and Subjects' by Macdonell and Keith, Vol. I. P. 190; PHAI. PP. 100 ff.
6. अष्टचक्रा नवद्वारा देवानां पूः अयोध्या ।
   तस्यां हिरण्ययमयः कोशः स्वर्गोज्योतिषावृतः ॥ X. 2 32
7. वृद्धेत्कोसलाजादाञ्ञ्यङ् । IV. 1 171

been the north Kośala and not the south Kośala across the Vindhya mountain, as was believed by late Sir R. G. Bhandarkar[1], because the geographical knowledge, which Pānini betrays, is almost solely confined to northern India. In later Sanskrit works, particularly the epics[2] and the Purānas[3], Kośala is not only geographically known as one of the very widely accepted political regions of India but its full history also is dealt with, which will be discussed later on.

Non-Brahmanical notices

The Pāli Buddhist literature also makes numerous references to Kośala, its history, society, and other conditions of life. The Aṅguttara Nikāya[4] mentions Kośala as one of the sixteen great Janapadas. The Samyutta Nikāya[5] devotes one full Samyutta to its description, in which the Kośalan monarch, Prasenajita, his kingdom, and administration are prominently depicted. There are various other references to it in the Dīgha[6] and Majjhima[7] Nikāyas, while the Jātakas[8] simply

1 Early History of The Dekkan (1928) P 11

2. कोसलो नाम विदितो स्फीतो जनपदो महान् ।
निविष्टः सरयूतीरे प्रभूतधनधान्यवान् ॥ VR I. 5.5
कोसलाः काशपौण्ड्राश्च कालिगा मागधास्तथा ॥
Mbh. VIII. 45 14 and further.
इंगितज्ञाश्च मगधाः प्रेक्षितज्ञाश्च कोसलाः ॥ Ibid VIII 45 34
The Jains also believed in the above characteristics of the people of Kośala. Cf. J C Jain, Life in Ancient India, P 278

3. भजेत् रामं मनुजाकृतिं हरिम् । य उत्तराननयत् कोसलान्दिवम् ॥
Bhāg V 19 8
धुन्वतं उत्तरामंगां पति वीक्ष्य चिरागतम् ।
उत्तराः कोसला माल्यैः किरंतो ननृतुः मुदाः ॥ Ibid IX. 10 42.

4 (PTS,) Pt. I P. 213, Pt. IV PP. 252, 256 and 260 etc.

5 Sarnath Hindi Ed Vol I PP. 67 83.

6. Sarnath Hindi Ed. PP. 34, 41, 49, 56, 82, 86, 160, 199, 207 and 241 etc

7. Sarnath Hindi Ed. PP 96, 140, 168, 239, 271. 325, 353, 360-8, 394-5 and 416-20 etc

8. Nos 51, 303, 336, 355, 428, 465, 532, and 536 etc.

abound in them. The Sutta Nipāta[1] also refers to Kośala. The commentaries on these works, composed as late as the fifth century A.D., follow suit[2] and demonstrate beyond doubt that since quite long before the days of the Buddha, Kośala had carved out for itself an important position as a political and cultural entity.

It is clear from the above description that right from the earliest times of indian history, Kośala had a prominent place on the political map of India. By the days of the Buddha, when the political divisions of India had begun to be sharply marked out, it had begun to enjoy the status of a Mahājanapada and was by far the most important, excepting perhaps Magadha, of the sixteen great Janapadas[3] Its position lay in the north-eastern part of India and according to the Buddhist tradition it formed part of the Madhyadeśa[4] (the middle-

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1. Sarnath Ed PP 57, 83, 143 and 183
2. Sumangalavilāsinī (PTS.) Vol I P 239, 244-5, Papañcasūdanī (PTS) Vol I. P 59, Aṭṭhasālinī (PTS) P. 305.
3. AN (PTS) Pt I. P 213, Pt IV PP 252, 256 & 266 etc
4. Brahmanical accounts alternately call the middle country as Aryâvarta (Baudhāyana D S I 2 9, Vasiṣṭha D S I 8 and Madhyadeśa (Manusmriti II 21) The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII 14 3) does not include Kośala in the Madhyadeśa (Madhyamā Pratiṣṭhā-Diś) Evidently in the Sūtras, the Brāhmanas and the Manusmriti Madhyadeśa is given a very limited area and it seems their Madhyadeśa was only of the north India and not of the whole of the country, probably because in the age of the Sūtras and the Brāhmanas very little of Southern India was known Though such was not the case, when the Manusmriti was written, yet its author seems to have followed the traditional Brahmanical account of Madhyadeśa. It is only in the Buddhist literature that the whole of India is reckoned, while dividing her into various regions The boundaries of the Madhyadeśa known from the Vinayapiṭaka (PTS Ed Pt I. P 197 and Sarnath Hindi Ed P 212) and Divyāvadāna (Cf JRAS 1904, P 89) are sufficiently large and seem to be more correct and acceptable than those given by the Brahmanical works According to Sumangalavilāsini, the Dīgha Nikāya commentary (PTS Ed. Vol. I P. 273), Madhyadeśa was three hundred yojanas in length, two hundred and fifty yojanas in breadth, and nine hundred Yojanas in circumference. It was so big in its dimensions that it contained within its area fourteen of the sixteen Mahājanapadas (DPPN , Vol II. P 419).

country) of India. The Jains[1] styled the kingdom of Kośala as Kuṇālā or Kuṇālāviṣaya and included it amongst the twenty-five and a half Aryan countries. The Mārkandeya Purāna[2] and the Brihatsaṁhitā[3] include Kośala and its capital, Sāketa, within the boundaries of Madhyadeśa.

Kośala—its name and extent

It has been found all over the world that places, regions, or even countries are sometimes named either after distinguished heroes of war or peace or the people inhabiting them. That does not seem to be true about Kośala since neither any distinguished hero nor any distinct people of that name like those of the Bharatas, Purus, Druhyus, Kurus, or the Mallas of the later times and the like is known to ancient Indian tradition. 'Kośalas', when used in the sense of a people, denotes the general mass of people and not any particular stock, which might have given its name to the Janapada. The Dīgha Nikāya commentary, Suṁangalavilāsinī, says[4] that the Janapada was named Kośala because of its having been the land of the Kośalan princes. But that does not carry us far about the knowledge of its nomenclature Buddhaghosa[5]

Its name

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1. Cf J. C. Jain, Life In Ant. India P 303, Vividhatīrthakalpa, P. 70.

2 मत्स्याश्वकूटा कुल्याश्च कुन्तला काशीकोसलाः ।
अथर्वाश्च कलिंगाश्च मलकाश्चैव बृकैः सह ॥
मध्यदेश्या जनपदा प्रायशोऽमी प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ Ch. 57. VSS 32ff.
Some of the Janapadas mentioned here connot be satisfactorily identified; while it is hard to include Kuntala and Kalinga in the Madhyadeśa.

3 ततः साकेतमाक्रम्य पाचालान् मथुरांस्तथा । यवनादुष्टविक्रान्ता प्राप्स्यन्ति कुसुमध्वजम् ॥
मध्यदेशे न स्थास्यन्ति यवनायुद्धदुर्मदाः ॥ Ed Kern, PP 37 8

4. कोसला नाम जनपदीनो राजकुमारा, तेपां निवासो एकोऽपि रुल्हीसादेन कोसला'ति उच्चति । PTS Ed Vol. I P. 239.

5. Ibid. P. 239.

gives another story. According to that, there was a Kośalan Prince named Mahāpanāda in ancient times, who did not smile at all. His father, the reigning king, being quite worried about that abnormal phenomenon in the boy, tried his best to make him smile and announced a reward to anyone, who could make him smile. All his human efforts having failed, god Indra sent his own 'Nātakaṁ', i e, the dramatic party to make him smile, which became successful in its mission. The people had been worried and thought that the abnormal behaviour of the prince might be ominous and bring some future calamity to them. So, vast crowds had gathered to see the prince smile. When they returned, they were asked by the rest, who did not get the chance to see things for themselves, 'Kacci bho kusalam, Kacci bho kusalam'[1], meaning whether everthing had happened alright. So from the word 'Kusalam' the name Kośala or kosala was derived. The story is quite fanciful, supernatural, and late in composition[2] and no reliance can be placed on it. It is thus, difficult to say as to when and how the name 'Kośala' got its currency. Pargiter believed[3] that it was under king Dilīpa II and his immediate successors that the Janapada acquired that name.

Nowhere in Indian literature—Brahmanical or Buddhist, has the exact and full extent of Kośala been clerly stated.

Extent of Kośala

But through the method of deduction the boundary-lines of the kingdom can be satisfactorily drawn. If one starts from the west and north-west, it seems that the Pañchāla kingdom was the very next to it right from the Brāhmaṇic period. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa[4] mentions Kośala and Videha to the east of Pañchāla It does not refer to any middle kingdom between

1 Ibid.

2 It is generally believed that Buddhaghosa wrote his commentaries in the 5th Century A. D.

3 AIHT. P. 275.

4 VIII. 14.3.

Kośala and Pāñchāla. That the two Janapadas remained neighbours for almost the whole course of their independent history is proved by other sources as well. The geography and exact locations of the sixteen great Janapadas, as mentioned in the Aṅguttara Nikāya[1] and other works, are fixed now[2] on the map of India to the general agreement of all. Taking that list also in view, no territory is known to have formed any buffer between Kośala and Pāñchāla and this fact may be said to have held good right from the earliest times to the days when Magadha became ascendant.

In the north, there is absolutely no doubt about the fact that the Kośalan territories touched the Himālayan hills. In the Rāmāyaṇa[3] it is said that the sons and nephews of Rāma, with all the strength and prestige of Kośala at their command, conquered new territories in the west and north[4] and below the lofty Himālaya, what is now called the Terai. Unlike other territories, which Bharata and Śatrughna conquered in the north-west[5] and the western regions[6], the conquests by the sons of Laksamaṇa below the foot of the Himālaya became its parts. They had been contiguous to what was the then Kośalan Kingdom. They were later, however, parcelled out by Rāma himself into different principalities[7]. In the days of the Buddha the Śākyan Gaṇa, though autonomous in its administration, was included in Kośala and the light the Pāli literature

1. PTS Pt I. P 213, Pt IV PP 252, 256 and 260
2. See Maps showing the sixteen Mahājanapadas : PHAI. P 95 facing, SN. (Sarnath Hindi Ed.) Facing Page 1 (Introduction), B. C. Law; Hist. Geog., facing Title page.
3. VR. VII. Ch. 102
4. See ahead, Ch V
5. VR. VII. Chs. 100-101
6. Ibid. VII, Chs. 70-71
7. Ibid. VII. Chs. 101-102 ; Raghuvamśa XV. 97; Vāyu, Ch. 88, Vss. 187-8

throws on this fact is abundant[1]. Prasenajita[2] said that the Buddha was a Kośalan, a fact which the Lord himself accepted[3]. Kapilavastu, the capital of the Śākyas itself has been said to have existed in Kośala[4].

The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa says[5] that Kośala bordered as far as the Sadānīrā, i. e., the great Gandaki in the east, which separated it from Videha. The latter lay to its east. In later times and perhaps since the days of Chandraketu, the Malla, who was the son of Lakṣmaṇa and had been anointed as an independent ruler by Rāma[6], the Mallas had become a separate entity[7]. But like some of their contemporary Gaṇas of North-east India, which were situated between Rapti and Sarayū on one side and the great Gandaki on the other, the Mallas had to probably accept the suzerainty of Kośala[8]. At any rate, like those of the Śākyas of Kapilavastu, the Mallian territories seem to have been included within the over—all authority of Kosala and it would be wrong to fix the Rapti river as the eastern boundary of Kośala, as Mr. B. S. Upadhyaya has done[9].

It is difficult to tell as to how far the Kośalan kingdom extended in the south. Some light, however, is thrown on this

1 DN (PTS) Pt III P 83, Jātaka (Fausbolls' Ed.) Vol IV. P 145

2 'भगवा'ऽपि कोसलको अहम्पि कोसलको' MN (PTS) Pt. II. P. 124

3 उजु जनपदो राजा हिमवन्तस्स पस्सतो ।
धनवीरियेन सम्पन्ना कोसलेसु निकेतिनो ॥
आदिच्चा नाम गोत्तेन साकिया नाम जातिया ।
तम्हा कुला पब्बजितो । म्हि राजा । न कामेअभिपत्थय ॥
Sutta Nipāta (Sarnath Ed) P 82

4. एक समयं भगवा कोसलेसु चारिकं चरमानं येन कपिलवत्थु तदवसारि ।
AN (PTS) Pt. I P 267

5 VIII 14 3, also I 4 11, refer also to CHI Vol I (I. Ed.) P 308, Rapson, Ant India P. 164

6 VR VII 102, 9 11

7 The Mallas are listed as one of the 'Solasamahājanapadas', AN, (PTS) Pt I P 213

8 See ahead, Ch VII ; PHAI P 199.

9 Buddhakālina Bhāratīya Bhūgola, P. 236.

problem by the Rāmāyaṇa, where the route, which Rāma selected for his exile-journey from Ayodhyā to the Daṇḍaka forest, has been described[1]. Starting from Ayodhyā he took a southernly route, evidently on some good road[2] fit for royal chariots to be driven. His first halt was at the left bank of Tamasā, the modern Tonse[3]. Early in the morning on the second day he crossed it and after trying to delude the people, who were following him, by taking a zig-zag route he again proceeded to the south[4]. The second river, he crossed, was the Vedaśruti[5], and further went to the direction, where lay the hermitage of sage Agastya. Then he crossed the Gomatī, a river that bears that name even today. After Gomatī Rāma had to cross Syandıkā, identified with the Modern Sai[6], which joins the river Gomatī in its north-easternly direction between Vārāṇasī and Jaunpur. There Rāma showed to Sītā the vast tract of land, which Manu had given in ancient times to Iksvāku and which was vast in dimensions and encircled by Rāstras (Rāṣṭrāvṛitā), evidently other kingdoms[7]. Rāma uttered there some sighs of pain born of separation from his

1. VR. II Ch. 49
2. प्रापद्यत महाभागमभयं भयदर्शिनाम् ।। VR. II. 46.29
3. Geog. Dict. by N. L. Dey, P. 202.
4. VR. II. Ch. 46.
5. Identified with Baita between Tonse and Gomati or Gumtī river, Geog. Dict. by N. L. Dey, P. 28.
6. Geog Dict. by N. L. Dey, P 200.
7. ततोवेदश्रुतिं नाम शिववारिवहां नदीम् ।
   उत्तीर्याभिमुखप्रायादगस्त्याध्युषितां दिशम् ।।
   गत्वा तु सुचिरं कालं ततः शीतवहां नदीम् ।
   गोमतीं गोयुतानूपामतरत्सागरंगमाम् ।।
   गोमतीं चाप्यतिक्रम्य राघवः शीघ्रगैर्हयैः ।
   मयूरहंसाभिरुतां ततार स्यन्दिकांनदीम् ।।
   समहीं मनुना राज्ञा दत्तामिक्ष्वाकवे पुरा ।
   स्फीतां राष्ट्रावृतां रामो वैदेहीमन्वदर्शयत् ।। VR. II. 49. 10-13

own country[1]. He is then described by Vālmīki to have gone beyond the longstretched Kośala[2]. Having thus crossed Kośala, Rāma proceeded towards the Gaṅgā through the territories of other kings[3]. The exact points, where Rāma crossed all these rivers, cannot be really determined. But it is certain from the above that the river Tonse, Gomatī and Syandikā flowed through the Kośalan kingdom and it stretched on the right side of the modern Sai as well, where the vast tract of land given by Manu to Ikṣvāku was shown by Rāma to Sītā. That Kośala extended upto the Gaṅgā, as is believed by many[4], is not warranted by the Rāmāyaṇa, where it is said that Rāma saw that river after traversing through the kingdoms of other kings. In the south Rāma proceeded towards Sṛiṅgaverapura[5], not very far from Prayāga and must have gone to the territories which later in the Mahājanapada period came to be known as the Vatsa Kingdom[6], The boundary line between the two kingdoms cannot, however, be satisfactorily pointed out.

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1. Ibid II 49 15-18.
2. विशालान्कोसलान्रम्यान् यात्वा लक्ष्मणपूर्वज: ।
   अयोध्याभिमुखो धीमान्प्राजलिर्वाक्यमब्रवीत् ।। Ibid II 50-51
3. मध्येन मुदितं स्फीतं रम्योद्यानसमाकुलम् ।
   राज्यं भोग्यं नरेन्द्राणा ययौकृतिमतांवर: ।।
   तत्र त्रिपथगां दिव्यां शिवतोयामशैवलाम् ।
   ददर्शराघवो गंगा पुण्यामृषिनिषेविताम् ।। Ibid II. 50 11-2
4. B C Law · Tribes in Ant. India, P. 119, He however, seems to have changed his view, for he believes (Classical Age, P. 4) that Sarpikā or Syandikā (Sai) was Kośala's boundary on the South; Rhys Davids: CHI. (I. Ed.) P. 178, H. C Raychaudhury, PHAI. P. 199 etc.
5. Cunningham identified it with modern Singor or Singror, 22 miles to the North-West of Allahabad on the left bank of the Gaṅgā, vide—Arch. Sur. Ind. Rep. Vol. XI. P. 62 and Vol. XXI. P. 11.
6. AN. (PTS.) Pt. I. P. 213.

In the south-east was the Kāśī Janapada, which must have under its control some territories in the western and North-western direction of Vārāṇasī, its capital. But it is highly probable that the Gaṅgā in its sweep towards the north-east of that city formed the boundary of Kośala, which included the whole of modern Ballia district upto the point, where the Sadānīrā or the Great Gandakı joins it. At least some portions of that tract later formed the Malla state.

There were no two Kośalas in the North

Certain scholars[1] believe that there were two Kośalas in north India itself. The primary source of their belief is Avadānaśataka[2], which refers to a war between the kings of the two Kośalas-north and south, and suggests that the river Sarayū formed the dividing line between the two territories. According to them the two regions were called separately as Uttara Kośala and Dakṣiṇa Kośala[3]. According to Cunningham, the northern portion was called "Uttara Kośala and that to the south Banaodha"[4]. He further divided the two portions into separate subdivisions.

The real crux of the problem, however, lies in working out the details. The believers in the theory of two Kośalas in the north describe the river Sarayū, i. e., Ghaghra as the boundary line between the two divisions but at the same time they say that the capitals of Uttara and Dakṣiṇa Kośala were Śrāvastī and Kuśāvatī respectively[5]. This,

1. B. C Law, ABORI. XV. PP. 1 ff.; Classical Age, P. 4; Hist Geog. P 47; N. L. Dey, Geog. Dict P. 103; AG. by Cunningham, PP. 407-8
2 Cf R L Mitra, Sans. Buddhist Lit. of Nepal, P. 20.
3. B. C. Law, Hist. Geog P. 47.
4. AG. P. 407.
5. N. L. Dey, Geog. Dict. P. 103; B. C. Law, Classical Age, P 4. They, however, do not seem to have been consistent in holding that Kuśāvatī was the capital of South Kośala and sometimes Ayodhyā is placed in that position. Refer, for example, to Geog. Dict. by N. L. Dey, P. 14; B. C. Law, Jour. Ganga Nath Jha Res Inst. I. PP. 423 ff.; Hist. Geog. P. 67.

however, is the weakest point in their argument. As far as Śrāvastī is concerned, it was undoubtedly the third and the last capital of Uttara Kośala[1]. But what about Kuśāvatī ? If it is placed in the northern part of India, it can be identified only with the modern town of Kasaya[2] in the Deoria district of Uttar Pradesh, 37 miles east of the Gorakhpur City. Kasaya has been designated as Kusinārā in the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya[3] and is named Kusāvatī, the ancient capital of king Mahāsudassana in the Mahāsudassana Sutta[4]. Then how can it be said to have existed to the south of Sarayū, the so-called dividing line between the two Kośalas ? Its present site, Kasaya or Kusinagara is far north of Sarayū and east of Śrāvastī. The two Kośalas then would not be the northern and southern ones. Rather one would lie in the west with Śrāvastī as its capital and the other would fall in the east with Kuśāvatī or Kusāvatī, i. e., Kasaya as its capital. The direction becomes, it is evident, completely wrong and to accept the two portions as falling west and east of each other would be baseless.

That Kośala came to be later known as Uttara Kośala and was a single entity in the north of India having no internal divisions is proved from other independent references. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa calls it both as Uttara[5] Kośala and Kośala[6] and points out to its single character. The Vālmīki

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1. R. L. Mehta, Pre-Buddhist India, P. 433; AG. by Cunningham, PP. 407 ff ; Rhys Davids, Bud. India, P. 29.
2. AG , Cunningham, PP. 430 ff. ; Arch. Sur. Ind. Rep XXII. P. 16 ff. ; JRAS. 1913. P. 152.
3. Bom. Uni. Pub. Pt II. P. 116.
4. Ibid. Pt. II. PP. 133ff.
5. धुन्वतं उत्तरासंगा पतिं वीक्ष्य चिरागतम् ।
   उत्तराः कोसलामाल्यैः किरंतो ननृतुः मुदाः ॥ IX. 10. 42.
6. भजेत् रामं मनुजाकृतिं हरिम् ।
   य उत्तराननयत् कोसलान्दिवम् ॥ V. 19. 8.

Rāmāyaṇa[1] makes it perfectly clear that Kośala extended (Niviṣṭaḥ) on both the sides of the river Sarayū. Kālidāsa[2] states that Dilīpa was the sovereign of Uttara Kośala[3]. The region meant is the whole of the Kośala Mahājanapada, since there is no ground to contend that any other ruler in any part of it shared the monarchy with him.

In the days of Rāma, no doubt, the great kingdom of Kośala was divided into many small principalities. Not only that the new conquests, which were made for the sons of Lakṣamaṇa[4], were established under new rulerships under Aṅgada and Chandraketu with Aṅgadīyā[5] and Chandrachakrā[6] respectively as their capitals but even the paternal kingdom was also parcelled out by Rāma between Kuśa and Lava. Kuśa ruled from Kuśāvatī, modern Kasaya in the Deoria district of Uttar Pradesh, for sometime but returned[7] soon to the hereditary capital, Ayodhyā, which he had forsaken[8]. Lava ruled from Śrāvastī[9]. Despite this double monarchy, however, Lava seems to have accepted the suzerainty of the central Kośalan authority of Ayodhyā, in which his descendants and the princes of Aṅgadityā and Chandrachakrā

1. कोसलो नामविदितः स्फीतः जनपदो महान् ।
निविष्टः सरयूतीरे प्रभूतधनधान्यवान् ॥ I. 5. 5.
2. Dilipa has been styled as 'उत्तर कोसलेश्वर'. Raghuvamśa III. 5. In Rajput times, however, Uttara Kośala came to signify Ayodhyā, the original capital of that kingdom. Refer to EI., XIV. PP. 193-6.
3. In some of the records, however, Uttara Kośala is mentioned simply as Kośala, e. g., in the Ayodhyā Ins. of Dhanadeva (I. Cen. A. D.), Vide, D. C. Sircar, Select. Ins. I. P. 96.
4. VR. VII. Ch. 102.
5. Ibid. VII. 102. 5. 7-8
6. Bd. III. 63. 189 ; The Vāyu Purāṇa calls it Chandravaktrā (88. 188) and in the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki it is styled as Chandrakāntā (VR. VII. 102. 9).
7. Raghuvaṁśa, Canto. XVI.
8. VR. VII. 108. 5.
9. Ibid.

perhaps followed his lead. The Kośala Janapada remained intact as a geographical unit and the double monarchy was later on ended by Divākara, a king of the Śrāvastī line, who conquered Ayodhyā[1]. Even with the emergence of the Śākyan Gaṇa of Kapilavastu, its geographical entity or political supremacy was not violated. The Śākyas accepted themselves to belong to Kośala itself[2]. In the Buddhist days, however, Śrāvastī had supplanted Ayodhyā as the capital of the kingdom and the latter had lost its political status.

In conclusion it can be said that Kośala-Mahājanapada, situated as it was in the north-east region of India, was, geographically speaking, one single unit forever and not divided by the river Sarayū into northern and southern parts at anytime. The myth of its being divided into two is the result of an incorrect and confused reading of the relevant texts. It came to be known as Uttara Kośala quite later in order to distinguish it from the Daksina Kośala, which stood on the southern side of the Vindhyas and is now known as Mahakosala.[3] The distinction of north and south Kośala "is unknown to both Vedic and Buddhist literature."[4]

The People of Ancient Kośala

The determination of race, stock, and caste of the Indian people has been, ever since Indology became a fascinating

1. Mat 270. 5, Vāyu 99 282.
2. See ahead Ch. VIII for a detailed discussion of this point.
3. There are various references to Kośala of the Deccan. Mahendra of Kośala (D. C. Sircar : Select Inscriptions Vol. I, PP 256-7) was conquered by Samudragupta in the march of his victory over Daksiṇāpatha) Refer also to the Ajanta Ins. of Hariṣeṇa (Ibid Vol I PP 429-31) for the association of south Kośala to Kuntala, Avanti, Lāta and Kalinga etc
4. Macdonell And Keith, VI. Vol. I P. 190, Refer also to Oldenberg, Buddha. P 393, Fn , Weber, Hist Ind Lit. PP. 39, 132 etc., Macdonell, Hist. Sans Lit. PP. 213. 215.

Its rulers

subject for study all over the world, a very complicated problem. Whether the Indo-Aryans came into India from outside[1] or were her indigenous inhabitants[2] and whether the common ancestors of the Aryans of India, Central Asia, and Europe spoke some common language in some common habitat[3] and later spread into different directions, one of which led to India, or the Indian people, princes, and conquerors went beyond the Hindukuśa and carried with them their language and culture[4], are controversies beyond the scope of the present enquiry. Indian tradition introduces Kośala to us in a fairly developed condition of culture and civilization. Manu is said to have been the common ancestor of both the Chandravaṁśī and Sūryavaṁśi Ksatriyas through his daughter Ilā and the nine or ten sons respectively[5]. Ikṣvāku, one of Manu's nine sons, got Madhyadeśa as a division of his Indian empire, which was parcelled out amongst his various sons[6]. Ayodhyā was Iksvāku's capital[7] and he became the progenitor of the Solar-race Ksatriyas of what was later known as Kośala. It is thus certain from the Purāṇas that the rulers of Kośala were indigenous people of Aryan blood. Nay, they also state that people and princes of Madhyadeśa went in all the directions of India and also abroad to colonize new lands for themselves. Those theorists, who believe that the march of civilization

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1. Cf CHI Vol. I (I ed) PP 65ff
2. Refer to A. C. Das, 'Rig-Vedic India' and 'Rig-Vedic Culture'; Sampurnananda, 'Aryon kā Ādi Deśa' (in Hindi) etc
3. Cf. CHI., Vol. I. (I ed.) PP. 65 ff.
4. प्रचेतस: पुत्रशतं राजान: सर्वं एवते ।
   म्लेच्छराष्ट्राधिपा: सर्वे ह्युदीचीं दिशमास्थिता: ।। Vāyu. 99. 12.
   Refer also to Śiva, VII. 60. 19.
5. Viṣṇu, Pt. IV. Ch. I ff.; Padma (Ed. by M. C. Apte) Poona, 1874, Vol. III. Ch. 8; Br. Ch. 8; Śiva, Pt. II, Sec. 5, Ch 36. HV. I. Ch. 10; Vāyu, Ch. 88 etc.
6. Ibid.
7: Br. 7. 20; Vāyu 88. 20

has mostly been from West to east and in India it started its course to the east and south from the North-West, altogether ignore the Purāṇic testimony, which points to the opposite directions. To say in the face of that evidence that "although the extension of Brāhmanism from the land of the Kurus and Pāñchālas was comparatively late, the Aryan occupation of the country goes back to an earlier period,"[1] is not enough and does not appear correct. This much however, is certain that most part of India had always had mixed populations[2] composed of various races or stocks of people, since India has been their meeting ground. Kośala was no exception and we shall proceed now to mention the people, who were its prominent inhabitants.

Like their rulers the vast majority of Kośalans were, broadly speaking, Aryans, who were the chief contributors to its culture and civilization. Technically speaking, they were a mixture of Brachycephalic[3] and the Nordic groups with fair complexion, medium or tall stature. yellowish or golden hair, tall heads, pointed and long noses, and sufficient hair on the chin and the upper lips. The next important section of the Kośalan population was formed by the Austric groups, which originally, settled in the Vinddyan ranges but seems to have leter on stretched towards the north. They were the Kola, Śabara[4], and the Muṅdā people of short stature, broad nose and long head. Besides the Aryans, they also seem to have contributed to the common culture of the land. Later on they became quite prominent in its history. The last element of the ancient Kośalan population was constituted by the Mongoloid

Kośalan people

1. CHI, Vol I (I ed.) P. 309.
2. Nesfield, qūoted by Sir H. Risley in his 'The people of India'. P. 20, says that the mixture of rates in India is so complete that all Indians are of one race now.
3. Refer to B S. Guha's pamphlet No. 22 of 'Oxford Pamphlets on Indian affairs', Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1944.
4. A rebellion by the Śabaras is referred to in the Vinayapiṭaka (Sarnath Hindi Ed.) P. 146.

blood. Chiefly known as Kirātas or Kinnaras, they might have entered India through Tibet, Sikkim and Bhutan. They were short or medium statured people with yellow skin, sharp hair, snub nose, round head, and slanting eyes. It is certain however, that they formed a very insignificant portion of the population of Kośala, stretched only on its north-eastern and northern fringe and belonged almost exclusively to the lower strata of the society. Little is known of their influence on other sections of the contemporary society. The Mongoloid features in a section of the north-east Indian population, that are found today, are only a result or later migrations[1].

Important Cities And Towns

Ayodhyā was the earliest capital of Kośala.[2] It is the modern city of that name, sometimes called as Awadh or Oudh also, on the southern bank of the river Sarayū, situated about three miles from the Faizabad Railway Station of the Northern Railway in latitude 26°48′ north and longitude 82°13′ east. The Pāli texts call it Ayojjhā and erroneously put it on the bank of the river, Gangā, where the Buddha went on two occasions.[3] Because of this reference, it is imagined in some quarters that there might have been another city of that name "made by colonists from the original Ayojjhā".[4] But for lack of any corroborative evidence from any source, whatsoever, it hardly seems to be an acceptable proposition and the introduction of the Gangā in place of Sarayū seems to be either a mistake of the transcript of the original text or an originally wrong idea of the situation of the city. Ayojjhā or Ayojjhānagara is further mentioned in the later Buddhist literature firstly[5] as the capital of king Kālasena and secondly[6] that of king

Ayodhyā

1 Vedic Age, P. 143
2 VR. I. Chs. 5 and 6.
3 S. N. (PTS.) Pt. III, PP. 140 ff. , IV. PP. 179 ff.
4. DPPN. Vol I. P. 165.
5. Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed.) Vol. IV. P. 82.
6. Dīpavamsa, Ed. Oldenberg. Vol. III. P. 15.

Ariṅdama. These references probably point to the old city, Ayodhyā, of the Sanskrit literature. Hiuen Tsiang called it A-yu-te (Ayudha or Ayodhyā) and, "according to the account in the life, it was from Kanauj that Yuan Chwang went 600 li south-east to Ayudha".[1] But that celebrated Chinese pilgrim also committed the old mistake of putting it on the Gaṅgā.[2] And on that very account Sir A. Cunningham proposed[3] another site for Hiuen Tsiang's A-Yu-te (Ayudha), which hardly seems to conform to facts.

Indian tradition believes the city of Ayodhyā to have been built by the primaeval king Manu.[4] Its dimensions were considerably great. Vālmīki informs that the city was twelve Yojanas in length and three Yojanas in breadth,[5] where king Daśaratha ruled like Indra, the king of the gods, in the heaven.[6] Hemachandra, a Jain author of a comparatively later period[7], enlarges the area of the city still more and says it to have been 12 X 9 Yojanas, a great exaggeration in extent[8]. Without entering into the detailed descriptions of Ayodhyā, which the ancient Indian literature supplies,[9] it

1. T. Watters, On Yuan Chwang's Travels, I P. 354
2. Ibid
3. AGI P 385.
4. अयोध्या नाम तत्रास्ति नगरी लोकविश्रुता ।
   मनुना मानवेन्द्रेण पुरैवनिर्मिता स्वयम् ।। VR. I. 5. 6.
5. आयता दश चद्वे योजनानि महापुरी ।
   श्रीमती त्रीणि विस्तीर्णा सुविभक्तमहापथा ।। Ibid. I. 5. 7.
6. Ibid I 5 9.
7. He was a court poet of Jayasimha Siddharāja and his successor, Kumārapāla, the Chaulukya Cf Dynastic History of Northern India, Vol II by H. C. Ray, 1936, PP. 974-6
8. द्वादशयोजनायामां नवयोजन विस्तृताम् ।
   अयोध्येत्यपराभिख्यां विनीता सोऽकरोत्पुरीम् ।।
   Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacharitra, I Parva, Ch 2, Vs. 912
9. Refer to Dhanapāla's Tilakamañjarī quoted by Lala Sīta Ram in his 'Ayodhyā kā Itihāsa' (Hindi) PP. 239 ff.
   Triṣaiṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacharitra, Parva I, Ch. II. of Hemchandra ; Ādi Purāṇa of Jinasenāchārya, Ch. XII etc.

would suffice here to point out that the enormity of the area of the city, its hoary past, and traditional greatness always provided the ancient Indian writers the necessary impetus to produce their grand descriptions of it. But those descriptions notwithstanding, it is difficult to accept the traditional accounts regarding the extent of the city, even if an allowance is made for the inclusion of its suburbs and and gardens in it. Sir A. Cunningham accepted the area of the City to have been only 12 Kos or 24 miles[1] and not twelve Yojanas, as is believed by Indian tradition, and, it seems, he hit the right mark. All the important places of modern Ayodhyā and round about it are believed by devout Hindus to have been included in the old city. Consequently, the circumference of the city gets naturally extended, since those places cover an area, which is far and wide. Ayodhyā was the birth-place of Rāma, who was transformed from a conqueror king into an Avatāra of Viṣṇu in the wake of Vaiṣnavism in India. Temples at holy places were built in large numbers by devotees after the first and second centuries of the Christian era. Various spots in Ayodhyā were later on associated with Rāma's life and that resulted in the multiplication of holy places. But it is difficult to vouchsafe the accuracy and correctness of those ascriptions. Nonetheless, it is believed that "at a place in the town called Janmasthāna, he (Rāma) was born; at Chīrodaka, called also Chīrasāgara, Daśarath performed the sacrifice for obtaining a son with the help of Riṣyaśringa Riṣhi, at a place called Tretā kī Thākur, Rāmachandra performed the Horse-sacrifice[2] by setting up the image of Sītā; at Ratnamandapa he held his council (Muktikopanisad, Ch. I.); at Swargadwāram in Faizabad, his body was burned. At Lakṣmaṇakuṇḍa, Lakṣmaṇa

1 AGI. PP. 401 ff.

2. According to the VR. and the Padma Purāna, the Aśvamedha was performed in the Naimiṣa forest on the bank of the river Gomatī—VR. VII 91. 15 ; Pad. VI, 271.13-14.

disappeared in the Sarayū. Daśaratha accidently killed Śravaṇa, the blind Ṛishi's son, at Majhaura in the district of Faizabad."[1]

Religiously, Ayodhyā is held in high esteem by Hindus and Jains alike. If for the Hindus it is the first of the seven most prominent pilgrimages[2] and presents to them the hallowed memory of Rāma, believed to be an Avatāra of Visnu, the Jains of India vie with them in making it one of their own holy places. Abundant information of that city is preserved in their literature According to that, Ayodhyā has been variously styled as Vinītā[3], Sāketa,[4] Kośalā or Sukośalā,[5] Ikṣvākubhūmi[6], or Rāmapurī[7]. It is believed by the Jains that it had been the birth-place of five Tīrthankaras[8], namely Ṛisabhadeva or Adināthа, who was styled as Kośalīya,[9] Ajitanātha, Abhinandanātha, Sumantanātha, and Anantanātha,

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1. Geog Dict. by N. L. Dey, P 14.
2 The Seven cities are enumerated as follows —
श्रयोध्या माया मथुरा काशी काची श्रवन्तिका ।
पुरी द्वारावती चैव सप्तैते मोक्षदायका: ॥
quoted in R K. Mookerji's 'Fundamental unity of India', Bhavan's Book university, 1954 P. 38
3 Triṣaṣṭhiśalākāpuruṣacharitra, Eng Trans. by Johnson, Vol II. PP 28, 157 and 277 , Ādipurāna, XII, 78
The city was known as Vinitā because its populace was very humble and well-behaved (Vinita)
विनीतजनाकीर्णा विनीतेति च सामता ॥ Ādipurāṇa, XII 78,
4 Adipurāna, XII 77; Vividhatīrthakalpa, P. 24.
5. Adipurāna, XII 73 , Vividhatīrthakalpa P. 24; see also Yādava glossary quoted by Mallīnātha on Raghuvamsa, V. 31
6. Avassaka Nirjjuti, 382 , Vividhatīrthakalpa. P 24.
7. Vividhatīrthakalpa, P. 24.
8 Cf. Johnson, Op. Cit. Vol. II. PP. 28, 255, 277 ; Cf. Lala Sita Ram, Op. Cit. PP. 110ff. ; Uttarapurāṇa 50. 69 ; Āvassaka Nirjjuti, 323, 382.
9 Cf J C. Jain, Life In Ancient India, P. 300.

to whose memory and for whose devotion five temples were built by the Jains. They swarm in large numbers every year even today to worship at these holy places in the city. The description of Ayodhyā by Jinasenāchārya in his Ādipurāṇa[1] surpasses that of Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa[2] in its fulsome praise, which not very unoften borders on exaggeration. Vālmīki seems to be nearer the truth in his descriptions of Ayodhyā as a great capital of a great kingdom. The city was fully decorated with roads and streets, well-cut and planned[3] It had a rampart with doors as required and was interspersed with markets. On the rampart were always kept 'Śataghnīs',[4] and many other weapons required to maintain the safety of the city. Beyond the rampart was a moat, which remained always filled with water in order to ward off enemies. The city was quite prosperous, full of gardens of śāla and mango trees, and possessed dramatic societies of women. Vassal kings from various countries (i. e., kingdoms) thronged there with their presents for the Kośalan king (Daśaratha). There was a large number of pinnacled houses and sky-kissing buildings.[5] The city was so pleasing

1 Ch. XII

2. VR. I. Ch. 5.

3 Ibid. I 5-7

4 Śataghnīs were stone-throwing machines, which could kill hundreds at a time.

5. कपाटतोरणवतीं सुविभक्तान्तरापणाम् ॥
सर्वयन्त्रायुधवतीमुषितां सर्वशिल्पिभिः ॥
सूतमागधसम्बाधां श्रीमतीमतुलप्रभाम् ।
उच्चाटालध्वजवतीं शतघ्नीशतसङ्कुलाम् ॥
वधूनाटकसङ्घैश्च संयुक्तां सर्वतः पुरीम् ।
उद्यानाम्रवणोपेतां महतीं सालमेखलाम् ॥
दुर्गम्भीरपरिखां दुर्गामन्यैर्दुरासदाम् ।
वाजिवारणसम्पूर्णां गोभिरुष्ट्रैः खरैस्तथा ॥
सामन्तराजसंघैश्च बलिकर्मभिरावृताम् ।
नानादेशनिवासैश्च वणिग्भिरुपशोभिताम् ॥ (to be contd.)

to the visitors that the Mahābhārata calls it 'Puṇyalakṣaṇā'[1] i. e., of auspicious signs. Just near Ayodhyā and to its south was its outpost, Nandigrāma,[2] wherefrom Bharata ruled over the kingdom of Kośala on behalf of Rāma in the event of the latter's absence for fourteen years in the Daṇḍaka forest. The distance[3] between the two places, however, cannot be easily guessed.

Sāketa was probably the second capital of Kośala (in point of time), the first being Ayodhyā, which we have just described. The literature[4] of the Hindus and the Jains treats Sāketa as identical with Ayodhyā. Kālidāsa in his Raghuvamśa[5] makes no difference

Sāketa

(Contd.) प्रासादैः रत्नविकृतैः पर्वतैरुपशोभिताम् ।
कूटागारैश्च सम्पूर्णामिन्द्रस्येवामरावतीम् ॥ V. R. I 5 10-15
The above description from the Rāmāyaṇa can be profitably compared to that of Hemachandra's description of Vinītā (Ayodhyā) in Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacharitra, Parva I, Ch 2, VSS 911ff.

1. I. 177·38
2. नन्दिग्रामेऽकरोद्राज्यं रामागमनकाङ्क्षया ॥ VR. I. 1.39.
The VR. informs (II.130 27 and 58) that on his way back to Ayodhyā from his exile in the Daṇḍakāraṇya, Rāma crossed the Gomatī, came to Nandigrāma and then went to Ayodhyā.
3. B. C. Law is of opinion that the distance from Ayodhyā to Nandigrāma was one Krośa, i e, two miles. Vide-Jour. of Ganga Nath Jha Res Inst. I. PP. 423ff.
4. Refer to 'Asiatic Researches', XX P. 442, H. H. Wilson's Sans Dict , Hemakośa quoted by N. L. Dey. Geog. Dict. P 174 etc.
5 जनस्य साकेतनिवासिनस्तौ द्वावप्यभूतामभिनन्द्यसत्वौ । V. 31.
Mallinātha in his commentary on this verse makes Sāketa, Ayodhyā, Kośalā, and Nandinī as the names of one and the same place on the authority of the Yādava glossary
again
प्रासादवातानदृश्यबन्धैः साकेतनार्योऽञ्जलिभिः प्रणेमुः ॥
Ibid. XIV. 13
शत्रुघ्नप्रतिविहितोपकार्यमार्यः साकेतोपवनमुदारमध्युवास ॥
Ibid. XIII. 79.

between the two cities and the Jain writers are also in agreement[1] with the same. The Bṛihatsamhitā[2] seems to have meant by Sāketa the city of Ayodhyā. The Buddhist literature, however, makes separate references to Ayodhyā and Sāketa and so it is sometimes believed that the two places were not identical and each one of them had its own separate existence. The Dīgha-Nikāya[3] credits Sāketa to have been one of the six great cities of India in the days of the Buddha, the other five being Champā, Rājagriha, Śrāvastī, Kauśāmbī, and Vārānasī. That Sāketa was at a distance of six Yojanas, i. e., 48 miles from Śrāvastī is known from the Mahāvagga of the Vinayapitaka[4] and the distance could be covered probably in a day or even less than that by changing seven sets of chariots at seven intervening places.[5] It is clear, there were seven halting-posts in between the two places, where the travellers could change their conveyances and take their necessary requirements. Unfortunately, the way between the two great cities of the then India was highly unsafe for the travellers and it used to be infested by robbers, who did not mind robbing even the monks.[6] Despite that risk, however, there used to be frequent and large traffic on the highway, on which both of those cities were situated and, which ultimately connected Rājagṛiha in the south-east to Takṣaśilā in the north-west.[7] We are also informed that state-police was engaged in catching hold of those anti-social elements and

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1. Ādipurāna, XII. 77; Āvassaka Nirjjuti, 383, Vividhatīrthakalpa, P 24
2. ततः साकेतमाक्रम्य पाचालान् मथुरांस्तथा ।
   यवनादुष्टविक्रान्ताप्राप्स्यन्ति कुसुमध्वजम् ॥
3. Bom. Uni Pub. Pt II P. 116; Refer also to Rockhill, The Life of The Buddha, P. 136.
4. Sarnath Hindi Ed P 256.
5. MN. (Sarnath Hindi Ed.) P. 96.
6. Vinayapitaka, (Sarnath Hindi Ed.) P. 127
7. Ibid. PP. 267, 280.

getting them punished for their nefarious and antisocial activities.[1] Sāketa was again situated on another road, which connected Pratiṣṭhāna in the south and Pāṭaliputra, the Magadhan capital.[2] It was the route, which the disciples of Bāvāri took for their northward journey. That route first took a north-easternly direction, then turned to the north and lastly went to the south-east. Starting from Pratiṣṭhāna, it passed through Ujjain, Gonaddha, Vidiśā, Vanasahvaya, Kauśāmbī, Sāketa, Śrāvastī, Setavyā, Kapilavastu, Kuśī-nagara, Bhoganagara, and Vaiśālī. Sāketa was the city of the famous banker Dhanañjaya, more reputed and known as the father of Viśākhā-Migāramātā,[3] one of the highly respected women-disciples of the Buddha. It is stated[4] that the city was founded by that banker on a site included in the Kośalan territory and because the site was first inhabited in the evening (Sāyam), the place was styled as Sāketa. The whole story is quite late, seems to be only a make-belief, and deserves to be summarily dismissed. Had the city been founded in the days of the Buddha, as is portrayed there, it must have been impossible for it to have attained the prominence and an equality of status[5] with other great contemporary cities of India so soon, which it undoubtedly had attained in the 6th and 5th centuries B. C. Sāketa is referred to in the Jātakas also as an important city and sometimes as the old capital of Kośala.[6]

Sāketa is known in the Jain accounts as Sāgeya[7] and is included among the ten most important Jain pilgrimages. It is said that the fourth Tīrthankara received his first alms

1. Ibid. P 127
2. Suttanipāta, (Sarnath Ed.) PP. 212-3
3. Dhammapada commentary, Vol I Pt 2, PP. 386-7.
4 Ibid
5 DN (Bom. Uni Pub) Pt. II P. 116.
6. Fausboll's Ed. Vol III. PP. 217, 270-2 , V. P. 13; VI, P. 228 etc
7 Cf J C. Jain, Life In Ancient India, P. 328.

there.[1] The Jain tradition also holds that Sāketa was visited by Pārśva and Mahāvīrba both.

Sāketa has been variously identified with ancient places like Sogeda of Ptolemy,[2] Shā-chi of Fa-hien,[3] Viśākhā of Hiuen Tsiang[4] and modern places like Ayodhyā,[5] Sujankot or Sanchankot-[6] which is thirty four miles north-west of Unnao in Oudh, the modern city of Lucknow,[7] Kursi,[8] Pasha or Pasaka[9] and Tusaran Bihar,[10] which lies about 27 miles north-west of Allahabad. But the whole premise of all these identifications, it seems, is based on a weak ground in as much as that it is assumed that Shā-chi of Fa-hien is the Sāketa of the Indian literature It is doubtful, however, whether the two places can be identified with each other. Fa-hien speaks of Shā-chi as a kingdom. But nothing is known from ancient Indian literature to suggest that Sāketa was at any time the name of a kingdom or a Janapada, as far example, was Kośala. There does not seem, therefore, any ground to identify the two places as one. Further, to say that Pi-so-kia[11] (most probably Viśākhā) of Hiuen Tsiang was the Shā-Chi of Fa-hien is also not warranted by any other fact than some stray agreements in description of the two places by the two Chinese pilgrims. The routes, which those pilgrims took for

1a. Uttarapurāna, 50. 69, Avassaka Nijjuti, 323
1b. Cf J. C Jain, Op. Cit P. 329.
2 B. C Law, Hist. Geog P. 122.
3 Legge, Travels of Fa-Hien, P. 54; W. Vost, JRAS. 1905, PP. 437ff.
4 AGI. by Cunningham, PP. 401ff.
5. Ibid. , Thomas, The life of Buddha, P. 15.
6 N L. Dey, Geog Dict., P. 174; Fuhrer, Monumental Antiquities of N. W Provinces and Oudh, P 275.
7. Fergusson, Archaeology in India, P. 110.
8. V A. Smith, JRAS, 1898, P. 524.
9. W. Hoey, JASB, 1900, P 75.
10. W. Vost, JRAS. 1905, PP. 437ff
11. Julien calls it Vāisaka (Memoirs, Vol I. P. 290) or Vāisāka (Ibid. II. P. 522), while Beal has Viśākhā for the same.

their journies to the various important places of India, cannot be always satisfactorily determined because the difficulties of direction and distance greatly impair the possibilities of arriving at reliable conclusions. The Hindu and Jain traditions regarding the identity of Ayodhyā and Sāketa seem to be most likely true and even if they are separately mentioned in the Pāli texts, Rhys Davids contention that they were almost two parts of one city and adjoined "like London and Westminister"[1] is perhaps the best suited description of them. It seems almost certain that either because of a change in the course of the river Sarayū or through some other natural cause, the original city of Ayodhyā shrank in one and grew in some other new direction and later came to be known as Sāketa.

Śrāvastī was the third and the last capital of Kośala. It was the seat of the post-Rāma solar-race kings of that kingdom. It was the centre of gravity for all kinds of activities—social, religious, and political in the days of the Buddha, who spent as many as twentyfive rainy seasons[2] there, ostensibly the greater part of his life, in teaching and propagating his new religion and philosophy. It was treated in his days as one of the six great cities[3] of India, worthy, according to Ānanda, of the Great Decease of the lord. Buddhaghoṣa in his Papañchasūdanī depicts the city as having derived its name because everything was to be found there[4]. That Śrāvastī did not stand in want of luxuries and the provisions of happiness is known from the Pāli canon[5] also.

Śrāvastī

1. Buddhist India, P. 29.
2. SN. (Sarnath Hindi Ed.) Pt. I. Introduction P. 2 ; DPPN. II. PP 1126-27.
3. DN. (Bom Uni. Pub.) Pt. II. P 116, PTS Ed. II P. 147, The Life of the Buddha, Rockhill, P 136.
4. It is said that there was a caravanserai there and people meeting there asked each other "Kim bhandain Atthi" and the reply was "Sabbam atthi", and so the name of the city became Sāvatthī. I. PP. 59-60.
5. Vinayapiṭaka (Sarnath Hindi Ed.) P. 14, Footnote 2.

The founder of the city was king Śrāvasta[1], the solar king of Ayodhyā, sixth in descent from Kakustha and son of Yuvanāśva. He is most likely to be identified with sage Śrāvasta, who, according to some Buddhist sources[r], gave his name to the city, Śrāvastī. It was a custom of the solar-race Kṣatriya kings of Ayodhyā that they used to go to the forest in their old age to perform penance, after handing over the charge of the kingdom to their successors.[3] It seems absolutely probable that king Śrāvata of Ayodhyā became a sage in his old age. Śrāvastī is said in the Vāyu Purāṇa[4] and the Rāmāyaṇa[5] to have been the capital of Lava, the son of Rāma. It is named as Śarāvatī by Kālıdāsa[6]. The phonetic similarity between Śrāvastī and Śarāvatī points to the fact of their being one and the same place.

Śrāvastī stood on a high road, which connected the most important places of Buddhist Indıa includıng Rājagṛiha in the east, Takṣaśılā in the north-west and Pratiṣṭhāna in the south. The road from Śrāvastī to Rājagrīha passed through Setavyā, Kapılavastu, Kuśīnagara, Bhoganagara, and Vaışālī[7]. Another highway connected ıt to Pratiṣthāna through Sāketa, Kauśāmbī, Vanasahvaya, Vıdıśā, Gonaddha and Ujjain[8]. Yet another road connected that city to Vārāṇasī through Kītāgiri[9]. Probably in the northern direction of

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1. Vıṣṇu, IV. 2. 37 ; Mat. XII. 29-30 ; Br. VII 53.
2. DPPN. II, PP. 1126-7.
3. शैशवेऽभ्यस्तविद्यानां यौवनेविषयैषिणाम् ।
   वार्धक्यै मुनिवृत्तिनां योगेनान्ते तनुत्यजाम् ।। Raghuvamśa, 1.8.
4. उत्तराकोसलेराज्यं लवस्यचमहात्मनः ।
   श्रावस्ती लोकविख्याता कुशवंशं निबोधत ।। Ch. 88. VS. 200.
5. श्रावस्तीतिपुरी रम्या श्राविता चलवस्य च ।। VR. VII. 108.6.
6. Raghuvamśa, XV. 97.
7. Vinayapıṭaka, Ed. Oldenberg, Vol. II. PP. 159ff ; Suttanıpāta (Sarnath Ed) PP. 212-3.
8. Suttanıpāta (Sarnath Ed.) PP. 212-3.
9. Majjhima Nikāya, PTS. I. P. 473 ; Vınayapıṭaka (Sarnath Hındı Ed.) P. 350.

Śrāvastī was a town named Kukkuta, a hundred and twenty leagues from that city, where merchants went for purposes of trade.[1] The city of Śrāvastī was situated on the bank of the river Achirāvatī (Rapti) at a distance of 6 Yojanas from Sāketa, forty five Yojanas north-west of Rājagrīha, thirty Yojanas from Saṅkāśya, one hundred and forty seven Yojanas from Taksaśilā and one hundred and twenty Yojanas from Sūrpāraka.[2] One Gāvuta away from the city and to its south lay the Andhavana,[3] where robbers practised their nefarious games of waylaying and robbing off travellers. The forest derived its name because once they gouged out the eyes of a Buddhist monk, named Sorata, and killed him in that forest, as a result of which they all became blind.[4] Once, when those robbers got so emboldened as to lay an ambush even for the Kośalan king, Prasenajita, they were captured, impaled, and killed by him as a punishment.[5]

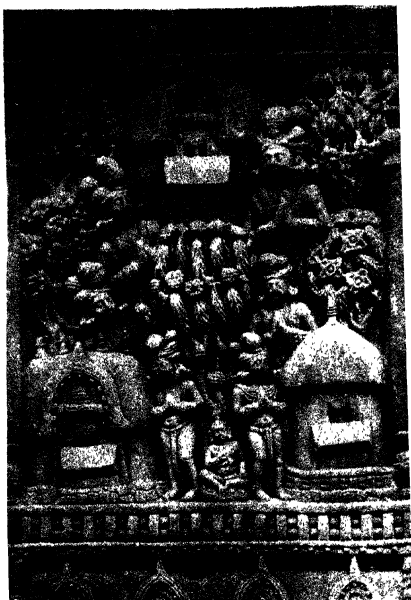
The two chinese pilgrims Fa-hein and Hiuen Tsiang visited Śrāvastī, while travelling in India. The former calls it She-Wei,[6] while the latter names it Shih-lo-fa-si-ti.[7] They describe its various ancient monuments and important shrines, which were built in the days of the Buddha.

The most important religious place in Śrāvastī was the Jetavana, the grove of prince Jeta.[8] It was a spacious and beautiful royal garden, neither very far from the city nor very near it, unapproachable by vast multitudes but at the

1. Cf. DPPN Vol. I. P 615.
2. Vinayapiṭaka, Ed Oldenberg, Vol. I. PP. 191, 293.
3. DPPN. Vol. I. P 111.
4. Papañchasūdanī, Aluvihara series, Colombo, Vol. I P. 336 ff ; Sāratthappakāsinī Vol I P. 148.
5. DPPN. Vol. I. P. 111
6. Legge, Travels of Fa-Hien, PP. 55-6.
7. T. Wätters , On Yuan Chwang's Travels, Vol. I. P. 378.
8. The Dulva (Rockhill, Life of Buddha, P. 48) says that Jeta was a son of Prasenājita, the Kośalan king of Śrāvastī.

To Face P. 61

Jetavana Monastery

y courtesy : Arch Sur. of India

same time not very lonely and deserted and worthy of the Buddha's meditation. The wealthy merchant and a devoted disciple of the Buddha, Anāthapiṇḍika, had bought it on a fabulous price[1] and constructed there a beautiful Vihāra for the use of the Lord and his congregation. It consisted of retiring rooms (Pariveṇas), store-rooms (Kotthakas), prayer-halls (Upatthānasālās), and fire-places (Aggisālās)[1a]etc. The Buddha first visited Śrāvastī on the invitation of that great and devout merchant and spent his third rainy season[2] in the Jetavana. Later he often chose the place to pass his rainy seasons (Chāturmāsya). The Jetavana stood at a distance of one mile to the south of Śrāvastī. There were many other monasteries in Śrāvastī besides Jetavana. Of those, Rājakārāma was built by the Kośalan King Prasenajita and was situated opposite Jetavana.[3] Viśākhā, the woman disciple of the Buddha, built for him and his order the Pubbārāma[4] to the east of the city. It was a two storeyed building with 500 rooms in each storey.

Like the Buddhists, the Jains also hold Śrāvastī as one of their chief religious places. They name it variously as Chandrapurī or Chandrikāpurī[5] and Chandrānanā. Two Jain Tīrthaṅkaras, they believe, were born there[6] and their names were Sambhavanātha and Chandraprabhanātha.

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1. Vinayapiṭaka (Sarnath Hindi Ed.), P. 458.
1a. The Dulva (Rockhill, Life of Buddha, P 48) says that the Jetavana monastery had sixty large halls and sixty small ones.
2. Vinayapitaka (Sarnath Hindi Ed.), P. 465; Rockhill, Op. Cit. P. 51.
3. DPPN, Vol. II. PP. 1126-7.
4. Thomas, The life of Buddha, P. 106; Rockhill, Life of Buddha, P. 71.
5. B. C Law, Hist. Geog. P 125, Cf. Johnson, Op. Cit. Vol. II. P. 315; Avassaka Nijjuti, 382.
6. Tirthakalpa, PP. 70-71; Jain Harivamśapurāna, Vol. II. P. 717; Shah, Jainism of Northern India, P. 26.

Mahāvīra first met Maṅkhaliputta Gośāla in Śrāvastī after separation[1] and spent his rainy season there on one occasion.[2]

Śrāvastī was not a centre of Buddhist and Jain religion and teaching alone but it was also a centre of Brāhmaṇic learning and teaching. Jānussoni, the famous Brāhmaṇa teacher, was the head of an institution[3], which imparted training to young Brāhmaṇa pupils. He commanded a good deal of prestige and patronage at the hands of Prasenajita.

Śrāvastī was the most important city in the kingdom of Kāśī-Kośala. According to Budhaghoṣa[4], there were fifty seven thousand families, prosperous and well-contented. The city was the meeting point of highways,[5] which led in all the directions of India and through them trade and commerce flowed to add to its prosperity. Further, it is said to have been the inlet and the focal point of all the income of the Kāśī-Kośala kingdom, which possessed as many as eighty thousand villages and extended upto three hundred Yojanas[6]. The Lalitavistara says[7] that the city of Śrāvastī was full of kings, princes, ministers, councillors, and their followers.

The identification of ancient Śrāvastī with the modern twin villages of Sahet-Mahet[8] on the boundary line of the

1. Kalpasūtra, Subodhikāṭīkā, 103, 105, 106
2 Cf. J C. Jain, Life In Ant. India, PP, 260-1
3. DN. (PTS), I. P 235 ; Sumangalavilāsinī. II, P. 399 ; MN. (PTS.), I. P. 16
4. Samantapāsādikā (PTS.) I. Vol. III. P 614
5. Suttanipāta, Sarnath Ed. PP. 212-3 ; MN. (PTS) Pt. I. P. 473, Vinayapiṭaka Ed. Oldenberg. Vol. I. PP. 191, 293.
6 Samantapāsādikā (PTS) Vol. III. P. 614.
7. Quoted in Hist Geog by B C. Law, P. 125
8 Sahet falls entirely within the limits of the Bahraich district, while Mahet is in Gonda. The two villages are almost equi-distant from Bahraich and Gonda, twelve miles east of Balrampur and are situated at about two furlongs from each other, vide—Arch Sur. Ind. Rep. 1907-8, PP. 82, 84 and 117.

Gonda and Bahraich districts of Uttar Pradesh was first proposed by General Cunningham[1]. This identification was based on the discovery ot a colossal Bodhisattva image in one of the ruined sites of Sahet, which contains an inscription[2] probably of the early Kuṣaṇa period. The inscription refers to the famous Kosamba Kuṭī in Śrāvastī, often mentioned in the the life-story of the Buddha. Vincent Smith, however, challenged the above identification and tried to show that Śrāvastī was situated "at at point in Nepalese territory near the foot of the hills and not many miles from the Nepalganj road station[3]" of the old North-West Frontier Railway, some 163 miles from the Gorakhpur city. Basing his main arguments on an examination of the routes taken by the Chinese pilgrims, Fa-Hien and Hiuen Tsiang, in their itinerary, he felt that the statue referred to above had been transplanted[4] to the place at which it was last found in Sahet from its original position in Śrāvastī (of his identification). The ground from the bottom of Mr. Smith's arguments, which never seemed convincing, was, however, completely knocked off in the face of later excavations at Sahet-Mahet in 1908. The most important discovery of the season was a copper plate grant of Govindachandra, the Gāhadavāla King of Vārāṇasī[5], recording the grant of six villages to the "community of Buddhist friars, of whom Buddhabhaṭṭāraka is the chief and foremost, residing in the great convent of the Jetavana[6]." The find

1. Ibid Vol. I PP. 330ff. ; XI. PP. 78ff.
2. JASB. Vol. LXVII (1898), PP. 274ff ; El. VIII (1905-6) PP 179ff.
3. JRAS. 1898, P. 527.
4. Ibid. 1900, P 8.
5. He ruled between A. D. 1114 to 1155, cf. History of Medievel Hindu India, Vol III by C. V. Vaidya, P. 212 ; For other opinions about the duration of his rule, refer to R S. Tripathi, History of Kanauj, PP. 386-7 ; to Roma Niyogi, 'History of the Gahadavāla dyvasty, 1959, P. 91 , H. C. Ray, Dynastic History of Northern India, Vol I. P. 529 etc.
6. Arch. Sur Ind. Rep. 1907-8, P. 120.

spot of the grant is now universally accepted as the ancient site of the famous Jetavana Vihāra and consequently, Mahet would be the site of Śrāvastī[1]. Besides, another incomplete life-size Bodhisattva statue was also found there. It bears an inscription of the early Kuṣaṇa period on its pedestal, which records the gift of the statue to the Jetavana Vihāra of Śrāvastī[2].

The above-mentioned discoveries have afforded some indirect proof that the big Bodhisattva image, originally discovered by General Cunningham at Mahet in 1862-3, had been in Śrāvastī and can in no case be treated as having been transplanted to its findspot from any other place of long distance. The identification of Śrāvastī thus does no longer remain in any doubt and the ancient city is modern Sahet Mahet.[3]

Kapilavastu

Kapilavastu was the capital of Śākyas.[4] It is the Kapilapura or Kapilāhvayapura[5] of the Lalitavistara and the Mahāvastu and Kapilavatthu of the Pāli canon.[6] The Śākyan princes, who were exiled from their original and paternal kingdom by their father Okkāka (Iksvāku or most probably one of his descendants) established that city in the slopes of the Himālaya mountain on the site of the hermitage of a Brāhmana sage, named Kapila, and named it Kapilavastu after him.[7] Accord-

1 Ibid, JRAS 1908 PP 971ff
2. Arch Sur Ind. Rep 1989, PP. 134ff
3. See for fuller discussions. JRAS 1908, PP 1098ff, 1909, PP 1066ff, EI. XI PP 20ff., Arch. Sur Ind. Rep 1910-11, PP. 1ff.
4. Divyāvadāna, P 67.
5. Lalitavistara, R L Mitra, Bib Indica Ed P. 114, Mahāvastu, Vol II. P 11
6. DN (Bom. Uni Pub) Pt. II. P. 131,
7. Sumangalavilāsinī Pt. II. PP. 258ff., Mahāvastu, Vol. I. PP 348ff., Saundarananda Kāvya, Ch. I, Divyāvadāna P. 548.

ing to the Lalitavistara,[1] the city of Kapilavastu had many pleasure-gardens, market-places, well laid-out streets, and it also possessed learned and virtuous people. The city had arched gateways and pinnacles[2] and its inhabitants were a happy and prosperous people because of an equitable taxation on them. These were the reasons why it proved to be an ideal place for the Buddha to take his birth there.[3]

The ancient town of Kapilavastu has been identified by most of the scholars with the modern Tilaurakot,[4] fourteen miles north-west of the Rummindei pillar, built by the great Mauryan monarch, Aśoka. It stands in the Nepal Terai within the Nepalese kingdom. Further opportunity would be taken to discuss the various propositions regarding the description and identification of that famous city, when we shall deal with the non-monarchical people and states of Kośala.

Kapilavastu lay at a distance of six yojanas from the river Anomā,[5] along the road, which Gautama took for his great renunciation, and sixty yojanas from Rājagṛha. The Buddha traversed that distance in two months, when he first visited his ancestral home after enlightenment.[6] It lay on the route, which the disciples of Bāvāri adopted for going to Rājagṛha from Pratisthāna.[7] The city of Kapilavastu was also connected by a road to Vaiśālī.[8] Just near the city

1. R L. Mitra, Eng. Translation, PP. 45, 75
2 Buddhacharita, quoted by B. C. Law, Hist. Geog. P. 90
3. Lalitavistara, Op. Cit. P. 125, Buddhacharita, Bk I. Vs 5
4 Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, P. 215, R B. Pandey, Gorakhpur Janapada (Hindi), P. 68; W. vost. JRAS 1906, P. 534
5 Lalitavistara, Ch. XIV The distance between Anomā and Kapilavastu is at some places given as thirty Yojanas (Jātaka, Fausboll, I 63) but that seems to be wrong.
6, DPPN Vol. I. PP. 516 ff.
7 Suttanipāta, Sarnath Ed. PP 217-3
8 Vinayapitaka (PTS.) Vol. II. P. 252

stood the grear forest, named Mahāvana, which extended upto the Himālaya.[1]

Setavyā

Setavyā was a town of Kośala[2] near Ukkatthā, where prince Pāyāsi ruled on behalf of the Kośalan King, Prasenajita[3]. It was the first great locality after Śrāvastī on the road to Rajagriha[4]. The Buddha once passed through that town,[5] while going from Śrāvastī to Rājagriha. The Buddhavamsa says that there was a Stūpa of the Kaśyapa Buddha built in a Setavyāno garden of Setavyānagara.[6] Fa-hien refers to a town, named Too-wei and locates it at a distance of fifty li to the west of Śrāvastī[7]. That is believed by some[8] to be a reference to Setavyā. But the direction given by the pilgrim is obviously wrong, since it is definitely known from the Pāli literature that, while lying on a route from Śrāvastī to Rājagriha[9], it stood to the east or south-east of the Kośalan capital. The Jain accounts call Setavyā as Seyavi or Seyaviyā[10]. We are also informed[11] that Mahāvīra and Kesikumāra visited it on more than one occasion. The identification[12] of Setavyā, however, is still uncertain for lack of proper evidence.

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1 Papañcasūdanī (MN. Commy) Aluvihara series, Colombo, Vol. I PP 298, 449.
2. DN (Bom. Uni. Pub) Pt II P. 231
3. Ibid. J C Jain, Life In Art. India, P. 394
4. Suttanipāta, Sarnath Ed, PP 212-3
5. Manual of Buddhism, Hardy, P. 347
6 JASB. VIII (1838) P 797
7 Legg, Records of the Buddhistic Kingdoms, P. 63
8 W. Vost. JRAS. 1903, P. 573
9. Suttanipāta, Sarnath Ed. PP. 212-3
10. J. C. Jain, Op Cit. P. 333
11. Ibid P 333
12. Mr. Vost identified it with Basedita, 17 miles from Sahet Mahet and 6 miles from Balrampur. Refer to N. L. Dey, Geog Dict. P. 184

Rāmagrāma or Rāmagāma[1] was the capital of the Koliyas and was named after their ancestor and its founder, King Rāma. According to Hiuen Tsiang's description, Lan-Mo[2], i. e., Rāmagrāma lay 300 li or so from Kapilavastu and 200 li from Lumbinī. He also states[3] that to the south-east of the city was a brick-stūpa, in which were preserved the secred remains of Lord Buddha by a former king of the Koliyas. This king should be taken to be some president of that Gaṇa state. There is yet another testimony of the Ceylonese tradition[4] that the Buddha's Stūpa built there was washed away by the floods of a river. The river referred to seems most likely to have been the Achirāvatī, the modern Rapti. The most probable site[5] of the ancient Rāmagrāma is the south-eastern corner of the present Gorakhpur City in Uttar Pradesh, bordering the Rapti river on one side and the great Ramgardh lake on the other. We shall further speak of this identification, while dealing with the Gana State of the Koliyas.

Rāmagrāma

Pipphalivana was the capital of the Gaṇa state of the Moriyas[6]. The name of the place, it seems, was derived from the fact of its locality being full of peepal trees, a point, which the Mahāvamsa commentary refers[7] to. Pipphalivana has been identified with the modern village of Rajdhani or Upadhaulia[8], about fourteen miles south east of the Gorakhpur City in Uttar Pradesh. That

Pipphalivana

1 DN (Bom Uni Pub) Pt. II. P. 131
2 T. Watters, On Yuan Chwang's Travels, Vol. II. P. 20 , S Beal, Buddhist Records, Vol. II. PP. 25-6
3 T. Watters, On Yuan Chwang's Travels, Vol II. P. 20.
4. Mahāvamsa, XXX 4. 17. ff.
5 Identified by Carlleyle with Koran Dih in Basti district, 28 miles to the south-east of Bhuila vide-Arch. Sur. Rep. XII. PP. 112 and 215 ff
6. DN. (Bom. Uni. Pub.) Pt. II. P. 132
7. Sinhalese Ed PP. 119 ff.
8. Arch. Sur. Rep. Vol. XVIII, PP. 31ff. ; XXII. P. 7

village is situated on the bank of a small river Gurra and its ancient looks suggest the existence of important and considerable archaeological remains there.

Kusinārā became famous in Indian history for the fact that the Buddha chose it for the last act of his life-drama — the great Nirvāna[1]. Despite the fact of its being one of the capitals of the Mallas,[2] it could not stand in comparison to the greater and more famous cities of India in the days of the Buddha, e. g., Champā, Rājagṛha, Śrāvastī, Sāketa, Kauśāmbī, or Vārānasī[3]. At that time it was a "little wattle-and-daub town' and a 'branch township in the midst of a jungle'[4]. However, it had been in its ancient days the capital of king Mahāsuddassana, was then known as Kusāvatī[5] and was twelve leagues in length and twelve leagues in breadth, prosperous and full of people, like Alakanandā, the city of gods[6]. In the Buddha's days it was known as Kusinārā[7], where the Buddha came from Pāvā, a distance of three Gāvutas[8], on the last journey of his life, stopping at various places. On the way between the two places, he had to cross the Kakuttā river[9]. Just near the city flowed the Hiraññavatī river in a south-westernly direction, by the bank of which lay the Sāla groves (Upavattana) of the Mallas, which the Master selected for his last resting place[10].

Kusinārā

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1 DN, Mahāparinibbāna Sutta
2 Ibid; Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed) Vol I P. 392, V. PP 278, 285, 293, 297 etc
3. DN (Bom. Uni. Pub) Pt. II PP. 116 and 134.
4. Ibid.
5 Ibid.
6. Ibid ; Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed.) I P. 392 ; Cariyapiṭaka (PTS) I P. 4.
7 DN (Bom Uni Pub.) Pt. II P 132.
8. Sumangalavilāsinī (PIS.) Vol. II. P. 583
9. Ibid. Vol. II. P. 572ff. ; DN. (Bom. Uni. Pub.) Pt. II. P 107
10. DN. (Bom. Uni. Pub.) Vol II. P. 109 ; Udāna Commentary (PTS.) P. 238

The site is identified with the modern town of Kusinagar or Kasaya[1], 37 miles to the east of the Gorakhpur city. It now falls in the Deoria district of Uttar Pradesh. The capital of the Mallas, the old Kusinārā, however, is generally identified[2] with the present village Anirudhwa, situated on the left or east bank of the Khanua Nala, not far from the present town of Kasaya.

Pāvā

Pāvā was the capital town of the second branch of the Mallas[3] It was the place, where the Buddha accepted the last meal of his life - the Sūkaramaddava, from Chuṅda Kammāra.[4] Having taken that meal, he proceeded towards Kusinārā for his Mahāparinibbāna. Pāvā is also credited in the Jain[5] and Buddhist[6] literatures to have been the place, where Mahāvīra, the last Jain Tīrthaṅkara, breathed his last. Pāvā is most likely the modern town of Fazilnagar or Chetiyanwa,[7] i. e., Chaitya-gāṅwa, ten miles to the south-east of the ruins of Kusinagar in the Deoria district of Uttar Pradesh. Fuller discussions about its identification will be found later in the chapter on the Gaṇa states of Kośala.

Devadaha

Devadaha was a small town (Nigama) of the Śākyas.[8] Its name is famous in Indian history for the fact that Māyā, the Buddha's mother, and Prajāpati Gautamī, his maternal aunt and step-mother, hailed

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1. AGI., Cunningham PP 430ff ; Arch. Sur. Rep XXII. PP 16ff , JRAS. 1913, P. 152
2. Arch. Sur. Ind. Rep., 1861-62, PP 77ff. ; 1875-7 (Vol. XVIII) P. 92 , 1905-6, P. 77 ; see also R. B Pandey, Gorakhpur Janapada (Hindi), P. 77, Indian Culture, Vol. XIII, PP. 125ff. ; Dharamaraksita, Kuśinagara Kā Itihāsa, P 120.
3. DN. (Bom. Uni. Pub.) Pt. II. P. 131.
4. Ibid. PP. 100ff.; Suttanipāta Commentary (PTS.) Vol. I, P. 159
5. Refer to B. C. Law, Mahāvira, P. 52.
6. MN. Sāmagāmasuttanta, 3. 1. 4.
7. Arch. Sur. Ind. Rep. XVIII. P. 104 ; XXII. PP. 30ff.
8. MN. Sarnath Ed. (Hindi) P. 427 ; Thomas, The Life of Buddha, P. 25.

from there [1] The Dulva informs[2] that the town was founded by the Śākyans of Kapilavastu, when they grew very numerous. Lumbinīvana, where the Buddha was born, was not very far from Devadaha. Devadaha was not only the name of the town alone but also of a nearby large lake, so called either because the Śākya-rājās held their acquatic sports in it[3] or because it came into existence without human intervention.[4]

Some minor towns and villages of importance

Beside the chief cities and towns that have been described above, the Pāli literature of the Buddhists informs us of so many small towns and villages, which got famous either for their being associated with the life of the Buddha or for the fact that they were inhabited by men of learning and literature. Ichchānangala[5] was a village of Kośalan Brāhmanas. Another Brāhmana village was Ukkatthā, where a famous Brāhmana Scholar, Pauskarasāti[6], lived. He was the master of all the income, plenty, and prosperity of that village, which were conferred on him by Prasenajita, the Kośalan king[7]. In the village Ekasālā of Kośala, the Buddha once preached[8] amidst a large number of house-holders. The Opasāda[9] village was the residence of the famous Brāhmaṇa, Chanki, who subsisted on the income of that village, which was given to him by Prasenajita as a gift. North of that village was a small

1 Thomas, The Life of Buddha, P 25, Mahāvamsa, Ed Gieger (PTS) II, P 17
2 Rockhill, The Life of the Buddha, P. 12
3 'देवा उच्चन्ति राजानो तेषा मङ्गलदहो' ।
quoted in DPPN. Vol. I. PP. 1111-2.
4. 'सयंजातो वा सो दहो तस्मापि देवदहो' । quoted, Ibid
5 AN. (PTS) Pt III, P. 30, 341 ; DN. Ambaṭṭha Sutta (Bom. Uni. Pub) Pt. I, P 97.
6. DN. Ibid. P 97.
7 Ibid.
8. SN. (Sarnath Hindi Ed.) Pt. I. P 96.
9. MN. (Sarnath Ed.) P. 394

grove, called Devavana[1]. Kesaputta was the Nigama (town) of the Kālāmas[2], who were the non-monarchical people of a Gaṇa state. There the Buddha preached the Kesapttiya Sutta. Nagaravinda[3] was the Brahmaṇa village in Kośala, where the Nagaravindeyaka-suttanta was preached. In Sālā was preached the Sāleyya Suttanta.[4] The great Brāhmaṇa scholar, Lohiccha, was a master of the village Sālavaṭikā,[5] that was gifted to him by the Kośalan king, Prasenajita, for his subsistence. There the Buddha preached[6] to him the difference between a real Guru and a fake one and also the right type of conduct and meditation. Besides these, references are also found to some other villages, namely Maṇḍalakappa[7] where resided the Brāhmaṇa woman desciple of the Buddha, named Dhanañjāni, Toraṇavattu[8], Daṇḍakappa[9] Nālakapāna[10], Nālandā[11], and Veludvāra[12] etc. Unfortunately, for lack of proper corroborative evidence it is difficult, rather well nigh impossible, to find out the modern equivalent sites of these various villages, many of which may have been extinct by now.

Important rivers of Kośala

Sarayū, known as Sarabhū to the Pāli literature[13], was according to the Buddhists one of the five great rivers[14] of

1. Ibid.
2. AN. (PTS.) Pt. I. P. 188
3. MN. (PTS.) Pt. III, P. 290
4. MN. (Sarnath Hindi Ed.) P. 168
5. Lohiccha Sutta, DN (Bom. Uni. Pub.) Pt. I. PP. 257ff.
6. Ibid.
7. MN (Sarnath Hindi Ed.) P. 421
8. SN (PTS.) Pt. IV, P. 374
9. AN (PTS) Pt III, P. 402
10. Ibid Pt. V, P 122 ; MN. (PTS.) Pt. I, P 462
11. SN. (PTS.) Pt. IV P 322.
12. Ibid. Pt. V P 352
13. Milindapañho, IV I. 35 ; Aṭṭhakathā quoted by Rahula Sankrityayana in MN. (Sarnath) P. 214 note , Vinayapiṭaka (Sarnath Hindi Ed.) P 510.
14. Ibid.; Those five great rivers were the Gangā, Yamunā, Sarabhū, Achirāvatī, and Mahi.

Sarayū

India. Ptolemy called it Sarabos[1]. It rises in the Himālaya above the Kumayun hills and after traversing a long hilly tract of that great mountain comes to the plains and is known as Sarayū, Ghaghra, and sometimes Dehwa or Deva[2] as well. The Mahābhārata[3] and the Rāmāyana[4] state that it emanates from the Mānasa sarovara. It joins the Gangā near the Chhapara town in the Saran district of Bihar. Sarayū is known to the Indian literature from the earliest times. The Ṛigveda refers[5] to it as one of the prominent rivers of India and the Purāṇas[6] mention it as a river of sanctity, on whose bank Rāma, an Avatāra of Visnu, took his birth and played his sacred life-drama in Ayodhyā. Ayodhyā, the first Kośalan, capital, was situated on its south bank[7]. Daśaratha, the solar race king of Ayodhyā, performed his Aśvamedha sacrifice on the north bank of that river[8], in which were engaged eminent Brāhmanas, headed by the great sage, Ṛiṣyaśringa. Sarayū

1. Cf, Geog. Dict. by N L Dey, PP. 180 ff, B C Law, Hist Geog P 120
2 Geog. Dict. by N. L. Dey, PP 181-2
3 Anuśāsana Parva, Ch 155
4 ब्रह्मणानरशार्दूल तेनेद मानसं सर: ।
तस्मात्सुस्त्रावसरस: सायोध्यामुपगूहतो ।
सर:प्रवृत्ता सरयू पुण्याब्रह्मसरश्च्युता ।
तस्यायमतुल: शब्द. जान्हवीमभिवर्त्तते ॥ VR. I 23. 9-10
5 उतत्या सद्य आर्या सरयोरिन्द्र पारत: । IV 30 18,
मा व: प्ररिष्ठात्सरयु: पुरीपिण्यस्मे इत्सुम्नमस्तुव: V 53 9
सरस्वती सरयु: सिन्धुरुर्मिभिर्महो etc. X. 64 9
That Sarayū of the Ṛgveda is the river of that name, flowing in U P and Bihar and was not a river of the Punjab is ably proved by Dr A. S Altekar, Proc Ind Hist Cong III, P 57
6. Bhāg. V. 19, 18, IX 8,17, X. 79, 9, Padma (Uttarakhaṇḍa) 269 38
7 VR. I 5. 6
8 Ibid I 14, 1-2

being a great river, having plenty of navigable waters for the whole of the year, must have been in the ancient days an important water-way for trade and transport. Ruins and ancient remains, that are still found stretching vastly on its banks, suggest the existence of many an important ancient site along its course, which must have added to the glory and prosperity of the Kośalan kingdom.

Achirāvatī

Achirāvatī or Achiravatī is the modern Rapti, which, rising from the hills near Butwal, a prominent Bazar in the Himālayan state of Nepal, flows into Uttar Pradesh and joins Sarayū or Ghaghra as one of its tributaries near Barhaj Bazar town of the Deoria district and Dharampur village of the Azamgarh district of Uttar Pradesh. It is designated sometimes as Airāvatī and is believed to have issued from the mouth of Airāvata[1], the elephant of Indra, a belief that is patently superstitous. Another variant of the name of this river was Ajiravatī[2]. Achirāvatī is treated in the Buddhist literature[3] as one of the great five rivers of India (Mahānadīs) along with the Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Sarabhū, i.e., Sarayū, and Mahī. The position of prominence given to it by the Buddhists seems to have been due to the fact that it was one of those rivers, which were the most frequented by the Buddha and his disciples and consquently treated as sacred[4]. Śrāvastī, the Kośalan capital, was near this river[5], which could be seen from the terrace of the palace of king Prasenajita[6]. Manasākata was a village on the bank of Achirāvatī[7], where the Buddha once went and lived

1. Hardy, Manual of Buddhism, PP. 15-17
2. Avadānaśataka, I. 63, II 60; Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī, IV. 3. 119
3. SN. (PTS.) II. P. 135, V. PP. 401, 460-1; AN. (PTS.) IV. P. 101; V. P 22; Vinayapiṭaka (Sarnath Hindi Ed) P 510-11
4. Vinayapiṭaka (PTS.) II. P. 239; Visuddhimagga, I. P. 10.
5. B. C. Law, Hist. Geog. P. 61, T. Watters, On yuan Chwang's Travels, I. PP. 398-9; Dhammapada Commentary (PTS.) Vol III P 449
6. Vinayapiṭaka (PTS.) IV. PP. 111-2
7. DN. (PTS.) PT. I. P. 235

just to its north in a grove, called Ambavana. The river was an ideal reservoir for fishermen, who used to catch fish and tortoise from its waters[1]. A village of fishermen named Pandupura is referred[2] to. The river could be crossed in rafts[3]. Achirāvatī was beneficial and harmful both – beneficial because it provided irrigational waters for the crops of wheat and barley[4] and harmful because many a time it overflowed its banks in the rainy seasons, flooded the fields by its sides, and destroyed their crops.[5] Once the great merchant of Śrāvastī, Anāthapiṇḍika, lost eighteen crores of his wealth[6] in one of its deadly floods. That was the amount, which he had hoarded beneath the ground on the bank of that river. We are also informed that the whole army of Kośala, which its king, Vidūdabha, had engaged for the destruction of the Śākyans, was washed away into the seas by one of Achirāvatī's most severe floods.[7]. This description, however, seems to be more of a wishful and figurative character than a real one and looks like having been devised to show the retribution that Vidūdabha met at the hands of nature as a punishment of his massacre of the family of the Buddha. Though the river Achirāvatī had floods in the rainy seasons, it was quite easy to cross in the summers and sometimes there remained so little of water in it that it left dry beds of sand [8] In that respect it maintains its character even now.

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1. Udāna Commentary, P 366
2. Dhammapada commentary (PTS.) III, P. 449
3. Vinayapiṭaka, Ed. Oldenberg, Vol. III, P. 63
4. 'अचिरवतीनदी तीरे यवं वापिस्सामीति खेत्तं कसति ।'
   Suttanipāta commentary (PTS.) P. 511
5. 'सब्बं सस्सं समुद्दं पवेसेसि' ।
   Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed.) IV. P. 167
6. Dhammapada commentary (PTS.) Vol. III. P 10
7. DN (PTS) Pt I PP 244-5 , Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed.), Vol. IV. P 167 ; Dhammapada commentary (PTS.) Vol I, P 360
8. AN. (PTS.) Pt. IV. P. 101

Rohiṇī is the modern Rowai or Rohwaini[1] or Rohin. It issues from the Nepal-hills and, after flowing into the hilly tracts of that kingdom, descends into the plains in the modern Basti district of Uttar Pradesh and joins the Rapti at a place between the Domingarh town and Gorakhpur City. Rohiṇī formed the boundary[2] line between the two sister Gaṇa-states of the Śākyas of Kapilavastu and the Koliyas of Rāmagrāma. The Kuṇāla Jātaka[3] informs us that there was a dam on the river, which was singly enough for the preservation and supply of irrigational waters for the two states. Unfortunately, once in a hot season, when the crops on the two sides began to dry and the water-supply got limited, there ensued a quarrel between the Śākyas and Koliyas.[4] There are references to other encounters[5] as well between the two peoples for the possession of the river. The river Rohin or Rohiṇī is still utilized for irrigation purposes, chiefly by the method of digging out small canals from it. Although itself a very small river, it stands upto the test of supplying plenty of water because it is fed by many other small rivulets[6] like Baghela, Maduhi, Piyasa, Balia, Chilua and Kalana.

Rohinī

Hiranyavatī or Hiraṇṇavatī is the modern Chhoti Gandaki It was also known as Ajitavatī.[7] The river is referred to in the Vāmana Purāṇa[8] It flows through the modern districts of Gorakhpur and Deoria of Uttar Pradesh and joins the Sarayū or Ghaghra on the boundaries of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, near the Guthani Ghat town of the Saran district. It flowed

Hiraṇyavatī

1. Arch. Sur. Rep XII. P 112 ; XXII. PP. 190 ff.
2. Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed) Vol. V P. 413
3 Ibid.
4. Ibid , Therigāthā, Vs 529
5. Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed.) Vol. I, P. 327 ; IV. P. 207
6 Cf R. B. Pandey, Gorakhpur Janapada (Hindi) P. 9
7. B. C. Law, Hist. Geog. P 85
8. 64 16

just near by Kusinārā, the Mallian capital and the place of the Buddha's Nirvāṇa. The sāla-groves of the Mallas stood on its banks.[1]

Anomā was the river, on whose bank prince Siddhārtha, after his great renunciation from Kapilavastu, cast off his worldly pose, gave away his royal appare to Chhandaka, his servant, sent him back with Kanthaka, his horse[2], and adopted the life of an ascetic. The river was evidently not very far from the Śākyan capital. The Lalitavistara[3] puts the distance between the two as six yojanas, which Cunningham accepted[4]. Anomā is most probably the river Ami[5] of the present day, which, taking its rise in the Basti district, joins the Rapti near Sohagaura in the Gorakhpur district of Uttar Pradesh. Carlleyle identified it with the Kudawa Nadi[6] of the Basti district of Uttar Pradesh but that does not seem to conform to facts. Thomas[7] does not believe that any river of the name, Anomā, existed at all and opines that it was a place, most probably Anupiyā, which through some corruptions of speech changed into Anomā, Anomiyā, Anuvaniyā, or Anumaniyā. This confusion regarding the name of the river and distance from Kapilavastu seems to have been created on account of different and sometimes divergent testimonies of the Pāli canon, their commentaries, the Mahāvastu, and the Lalitavistara. It is difficult to believe the commentaries,[8] where it is stated that the river was by the side of Anupiyā, the Mallian town, and its mango-grove for the simple reason that it seems to have been impossible for Prince Siddhārtha to cover such a great distance

Anomā

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1. DN. (Bom. Uni. Pub.) Pt. II. P. 109
2. Buddhacharitakāvya, BK. V; Dhammapada Commentary (PTS.) I. P. 85
3. Ch XIV
4. AGI. PP. 423ff.
5. Ibid.
6. Arch Sur Rep. XXII. P. 224
7. The life of Budda, P. 61
8. Cf. Thomas, The Life of Buddha, P. 61

of thirty leagues[1] covering the Śākyan, Koliyan, and Mallian territories in the limited time he had at his disposal—from midnight to dawn, even on the back of a horse, which he used on the occasion of his Mahābhiniskramaṇa.

Kakkutthā was identified by A. C. L. Carlleyle with the modern Ghaghi[2], which flows into the Deoria district of Uttar Pradesh, not far from Fazilnagar and Chetiyaon. It became famous for the fact that the Buddha took his last bath in it.[3]. While hurrying for Kusinārā from Pāvā for his Mahāparinirvāṇa, the Lord had to cross this river.[4] Having accepted the last meal of his life from Chunda Kammāra of Pāvā, which created disorders in his stomach, he drank its water on his way to Kusinārā.[5] The water of the river is said to have been very pure, cool, white, and refreshing.

Kakkutthā

Mahīnadī has been enumerated in the Buddhist literature as one of the five great rivers[6] of northern India. The place of pride that is given to it tends to suggest that it must have been a great and prominent river in those days and on this assumption it has been identified by some[7] with the Great Gandaki of the modern days. Mahī, however, is still an independent river, takes its rise in the Himālaya and joins the Great Gandaki or is joined by the latter just about a mile above Sonpur in Bihar. It crosses the the North Eastern Railway between Sewan and Pahleja Ghat in Bihar and intersects the Saran district of

Mahī

1. Ibid.
2. Arch. Sur. Ind. Rep. XVIII, P. 107 ; XXII. Ch. IV ; Cunningham identified the river with Barhi, which falls into the Chhoti Gandaki, eight miles below Kasaya. AGI. P. 435
3. DN. (Bom. Uni Pub.) Pt. II. P. 102ff.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Vinayapiṭaka, Sarnath Hindi Ed. P. 510 ; Milindapañho, IV. 1.35 ; AN. (PTS.) Pt. IV. P. 101
7. SN. Sarnath Hindi Ed. Pt. I. Introduction. P. 10; W. Hoey, JRAS. 1907, P. 45

that province. The river is spelled 'Mhye'[1] in the old maps of the railway (North Western Railway).

Sadānīrā

Sadānīrā is mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmana[2] as separating the territories of Kośala in the west and Videha in the east. Weber[3] and Eggeling identified[4] Sadānīrā with the Great Gandaki of the modern days. It issues from the high altitudes of the snowy peaks of Himālaya, makes a voilent rush into the plains below the Nepal Terai, and joins the Gaṅgā at Sonpur in Bihar. It is quite a deep river and on account of its immense and sometimes unfathomable waters, which hardly let it dry in any part of the year, it might have got its name, Sadānīrā. It is also designated as Nārāyaṇī and Śāligrāmī, the latter name being prevalent in Nepal. Pieces of rocks often flow into it in the heavy onrush of its gushing waters and make it unfit for navigation for the most parts of the year. In the rainy seasons it floods quite large tracts of lands on its banks.

Sundarikā

Sundarikā was a river in Kośala, by whose side lived a Brāhmana sage, named Sundarik Bhāradwāja.[5] That Risi used to kindle the sacrificial fire there. Once the Buddha taught him the futility of the Varṇa theory.[6] It is said in the Majjhima Nikāya[7] that the water of that river had the power to wash away sins, evidently indicating that it was believed to be sacred and pure. Sundarikā is most probably the Syandikā of the Vālmīki Rāmā-

1 Statistical account of Bengal, 1877, Vol XI P. 358, CAGI. P. 719
2. I 4 14-17
3. Indische studien, I PP 172 and 181
4 S B E Vol XII P 104, Pargiter identified the Sadānīrā river with Rapti, the tributary of the Sarayū, vide Markaṇḍeya Purāṇa, P 294
5. Suttanipāta (Sarnath Ed) PP. 89 ff. ; SN. (Sarnath Hindi Ed.) Pt. I. PP. 134 ff.
6. Ibid.
7. Sarnath Hindi Ed. P. 26

yaṇa[1], which formed the southern boundary of Kośala. It has then to be identified with the modern Sai[2], which, flowing through Pratapgarh and Jaunpur districts in Uttar Pradesh joins the Gomatī between Jaunpur town and Vārānasī.

Bāhukā

Bāhukā is the present-day Ghumela[3] or Burha-Rapti, which is a tributary of the Rapti river and flows into Uttar Pradesh. It has been referred to in the Majjhima Nikāya[4] as one of the many rivers, which were believed to be pure and a dip in its waters could wash away the sins of men. It is also suggested there that the river flowed quite near Śrāvastī, the Kośalan capital. The Buddha was once asked to bathe in that river but he refused[5] to do so on the ground that, unless one is himself pure, a dip in any river cannot do any good. The river Bāhukā has also been mentioned in one of the Jātakas[6].

Forests and groves

Ancient Kośala, a centre of culture, trade, politics, and religion was quite rich in natural beauty and wealth. The great mountain Himālaya stood as the protector of the Janapada from outside invasions and formed the source of its life-blood in the shape of various rivers. The latter contributed most to its fertile plains and green vegetation. Right from the foot of the mountain, Kośala was interspersed with big or small forests and groves that gave not only beauty to its geography but refuge to dacoits and ascetics as well. They must have also been instrumental in causing sufficient rains there and thus helping in the prosperity of the people by way of promoting agriculture.

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1. II. 49. 12
2. N. L Dey, Geog. Dict. P. 200
3. Ibid. P. 16
4. Sarnath Hindi. Ed P 26
5. Ibid. P. 26
6. Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed) Vol. V. PP. 388ff.

We may hurriedly refer to the most important of those forests and groves. The foremost and perhaps the greatest was the Mahāvana.[1] Its northern edge touched the Himālayan hills[2]. In the south it is said to have touched the sea,[3] which seems to be an exaggerated statement in view of the fact that the intervening territories of Kośala and Magadha were quite extensive and populous. It can, however, be accepted as true and holding good to the southeast of Vaiśālī upto the sea, Since the forest spreading by the low hills of the Himālaya ranged from Kapilavastu in the west to Vaiśālī in the east and again upto the sea in the south-east.

Añjanavana was a garden at Sāketa.[4] There was a deer-park in it, sometimes the resting-abode of the Buddha. The Lord preached there the Sāketa Sutta[5] and the Sāketa Jātaka.[6]

Andhavana was a grove, one gāvuta away from the city of Śrāvastī,[7] big and protective enough for the dacoits to indulge in loot, depredations, and killing. Since they once killed a Buddhist monk, named Sorata, by pulling out his eyes, they became blind and the forest derived its name, Andhavana.[8] Once they tried their hands on Prasenajita, the Kośalan king himself, who got them captured and variously punished.[9]

Lumbinīvana was a park, situated between Kapilavastu and Devadaha, where the Buddha was born.[10] It has now

1. DPPN. Vol II. P. 555
2. Papañcasūdanī, Aluvihara series, Colombo, Vol. I. PP 298 and 449
3. Ibid
4. DPPN. Vol. I PP. 40-1, SN. (PTS.) Vol. I. P. 54, V, PP. 73ff.
5. SN. (PTS) Pt. V P 219
6. Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed) Vol I. P 308
7. DPPN. Vol. I. P. 111
8. Papañcasūdanī, Aluvihara series, Colombo, Vol. I. PP. 336ff.
9. DPPN Vol. I. P. 111
10. Jātaka [Fausboll's Ed] Vol I. P. 52, Buddhacharitakāvya, I 23

been identified with Rummindei, where an Aśokan pillar with an inscription on it has been found.[1] It is now inside the Nepal kingdom, about ten miles east from Tilaurakot, the most probable site for Kapilavastu, and two miles north of Bhagawanpur.[2]

Jetavana was a beautiful garden just a mile south outside the city of Śrāvastī, which prince Jeta, after whom it was named, had reared up and maintained for the satisfaction of his royal pleasure.[3] Anāthapiṇḍika, after having seen the Buddha in Rājagṛiha and invited him to Śrāvastī,[4] thought of building an ideal resting place for the Master and forced the prince to sell the garden to him (Anāthapiṇḍika) by dragging him to a court of law and taking a decree in his own favour from there to the prince's utter reluctance and discomfiture.[5] He built there the famous Jetavana monastery, which had the greatest attraction for the Buddha, who preached most of his Suttas and spent the best part of his teacher's life there.[6]

Beside these famous forests and groves there were many small and less noted ones. Ketakavana was one near the famous village Nālakapāna[7] of Kośala, where the Buddha preached the Nālakapāna Jātaka.[8] Jālīnavana was another within the Kośalan dominions, which happened to be the refuge of the noted dacoit, Aṅgulimāla.[9] Tikantakīvana[10] was

1. Hultzsch, Ins of Aśoka P. 164; JRAS. 1897 PP. 497, 615 , D. R. Bhandarkar, Aśoka, PP. 243-4.
2. B C. Law . Hist Geog. P. 104 ; D. R. Bhandarkar, Aśoka. PP. 243-4.
3. Mahāvamsa Commentary (PTS.) P.102 ; Vinayapiṭaka (Sarnath Hindi Ed) P 461
4. Vinayapitaka (Sarnath Ed.) P. 461ff.
5. Ibid. PP 461ff.
6. DPPN. II PP. 1126-7.
7. Ibid. I. P. 662.
8. Jātaka (Fausboll s Ed.) Vol. I. P. 170.
9. DPPN. Vol I. P. 954.
10. AN. (PTS.) Pt. III. PP. 169ff.

the third garden in Sāketa, which has evidently to be identified with the Kantakīvana,[1] where the longlived Sāriputta, Mahāmoggalāna, and Anuruddha lived in peace once.[2] Lastly there was the Naimisāraṇya, i.e., the Naimisa forest, famous for its holy and hallowed character in the ancient Sanskrit literature. It is identified[3] with modern Nimkharvan or Nimsar, forty five miles to the north-west of Lucknow and stretches on the left bank of river Gomatī[4] in the Sitapur district of Uttar Pradesh. It is believed to have been in ancient times the abode of great Ṛisis. It was often selected for great sacrifices. Observing that tradition, Rāma performed his great Aśvamedha sacrifice there.[5] It is also traditionally believed[6] that the Mahābhārata and some of the Purānas were recited in the Naimisa forest. Most of the Purāṇas[7] as well as the Mahābhārata[8] refer to its holy character.

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1 SN. (Sarnath Hindi Ed.) Pt II P. 698.

2 Ibid

3 N L Dey, Geog Dict P. 125

4 तथैवतालावचरास्तथैव नटनर्तकाः ।
यज्ञवाटश्च सुमहान् गोमत्या नैमिषेवने ॥ VR. VII. 91 15

again

स्वायम्भुवो मनुः पूर्वं द्वादशार्णं महाक्रतुम् ।
जजापगोमतीतीरे नैमिषे विमले शुभे ॥
Padma, Uttara Khanda, 269 1 . refer also to Vāyu 2 8-9 , Bd I 2 8-9 , Mbh III. 87 6-7 , XII 355 2 and 357 12.

5 शतशश्चापि धर्मज्ञा क्रतुमुख्यमनुत्तमम् ।
अनुभूय महायज्ञं नैमिषे रघुनन्दन ॥ VR. VII. 91. 17.

6 Mat 1 5ff , HV I 1 11 , Vāyu 1 15 and 99 255-8, Mbh. I. 1 2.

7. Padma VI. 219 1-22 , Km (Pūrvabhāga) 30. 45-8 and also 37 37 , Bhāg I 1 4 , III 20. 7 ; X. 79 30 , Mat 106. 57.

8 Mbh XIII. 31 1 and 32.

CHAPTER III

GENEALOGY AND CHRONOLOGY

The genealogy of the solar line of Ayodhyā is found in almost all the Purāṇas[1]. Their treatment of that genealogy cannot, however, be said to be uniform and agreed in all the cases and sometimes serious chronological confusions set in. On occasions it so happens that either more than one name occur in one and the same step or there are found many forms of one and the same name[2]. It becomes difficult then to vouchsafe the chronological correctness, even though a comparative study of all the Purāṇas[3] is made by forming groups of their agreements, disagreements, or silence. This difficulty is very much pronounced after Ahīnagu, as far as the Aikṣvāku dynasty of Ayodhyā is concerned It may be presumed that when the early method of their oral transmission gradually gave way to that of putting them into black and white, the scribes' devil might have caused variations in the spellings of some names. It is difficult, however, to explain the basic differences between the traditions of the various Purāṇas.

1. Bd III 63 8 214 ; Br Chs 7 and 8 ; Vāyu 88 8-213 , Mat 12. 25 57 ; Pad V. 8. 124-162 ; Hv. I Chs. 10-15 , Śiva, Pt II Section 5, Chs 35 39 , Lg Chs 65-66 ; Km I Chs 20-21 , Viṣ IV. Chs 2 4 (Gītā Press, Gorakhpur Ed. has been used here) ; Saura 30 32-72 , Kalki Pt III Chs 3-4.

2. e g , Suyodhana, the successor of Kakutstha, is sometimes (Brahma 7. 52 , Bhāg IX 6 20 , Vāyu 88 25 , HV I. 11 20) called Anenas, but at others Araṇābha (Śiva Pt. II Sec. 5,37 7) Pṛthu's successor, Viśvagaśva, is differently named as Viśvavasu Viśvaka, Vistarāśva, Viṣṭharāśva, Viśvarandhi, Vṛṣadaśva, and Viśvagaśva Other examples will follow in the course of setting the genealogy.

3. Refer for the results of the Purānic-text comparisons to the Introduction (X ff.) to the 'Purāṇa Pañcalakṣana' by W. Kirfel.

The Purāṇas, giving bigger or later lists might denote either their late composition or that they might have included in one main line even kings of collateral branches. But on the other hand, those giving shorter lists may not be necessarily older and more genuine.

Under the circumstances, there seems to be no hard and fast method of accepting the list of any one Purāṇa or many Purānas of one group as more reliable than the others. So it is proposed here to work out the solar-race genealogy of Ayodhyā by the simple method of accepting the testimony of the majority, unless it is proved patently wrong, and of admitting in their list those names also, which are supported and corroborated by other sources in the Brahmanical literature. Taking all things into consideration, it is the only method left to us.

The Pre-Rama genealogy

The genealogy of the Aiksvākus of Ayodhyā begins from Manu Vaivasvata. For seventeen steps down from Manu all the Purāṇas are unanimous and accordingly the genealogical table runs as follows :—

1. Manu
2. Ikṣvāku
3. Vikuksi, also called Śaśāda
4. Kakutstha, also known as Purañjaya[1] or Parañjaya
5. Suyodhana, Anenas[2] being his other name
6. Prithu
7. Viśvagaśva, variously named as Viśvāvasu, Viśvaka Vistarāśva, Visṭharāśva, Viśvarandhi, Vrisadaśva, or Viśvagaśva
8. Ardra, variously spelt as Ārdraka, Chandraka, Āndhra and Ayu

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1. Viṣnu, IV. 2 20 ; Bhāg. IX. 6. 12.
2. Viṣnu, IV 2. 33 ; Vāyu, 88. 25 ; HV. I. 11. 20 ; Śiva Pt. II. Sec. 5. 37. 7 calls him Aranābha.

9. Yuvanāśva I
10. Śrāvasta or Śāva
11. Vṛihadaśva
12. Kuvalayāśva or Kuvalāśva, also known as Dhundhumāra
13. Dṛiḍhāśva

After the 13th step, the Padma, Kūrma, Liṅga, and the Matsya Purānas put in Pramoda as the son to Dṛiḍhāśva and father to Haryaśva. It seems there is some confusion in the original texts. The right reading seems to be that of the Agni Purāṇa, which renders the possibility of two meanings—Firstly, "From Dṛiḍhāśva came Haryaśva,[1] the pleasing,"[2] and secondly, "From Dṛidhāśva were Haryaśva and Pramodaka." In the first case, Pramoda or Pramodaka seems to have been either an adjective or a title to Haryaśva, and in the second one, Haryaśva would have to be treated as the elder of the two brothers, and so the rightful heir to Dṛidhāśva. Thus in both the cases Pramoda has to be dismissed and he cannot be said to have ruled at all. So the line would run as,

14. Haryaśva
15. Nikumbha
16. Saṁhatāśva, spelt as Amitāśva[2] and Varhaṇāśva[3] as well
17. Kriśāśva or Kṛitāśva

After Kriśāśva some of the Purānas[4], viz. the Viṣnu, Brahma, Vāyu, Śiva, and Bhāgavata put in Prasenajita or

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1. धुन्धुमारास्त्रयो भूपा दृढाश्वो दण्ड एव च ।
कपिलोऽथ दृढाश्वात्तु हर्यश्वश्चप्रमोदकः ॥ 272. 22.
It may be noted here that all the three sons of Dhundhumāra are said to have been kings (Bhūpāḥ), which is in fact a mistake, for only one, i. e , Dṛidhāśva, the eldest, occupied the throne of Ayodhyā.
2. Viṣnu, IV. 2. 45 , Km. I. 20. 23.
3. Bhāg. IX. 6 25.
4. Viṣ. IV. 2. 47 ; Bhāg. IX. 6. 25 ; Śiva Pt. II. Sec. 5, 37.42 ; Vāyu. 88. 64.

Senajita (according to Bhāgavata). The Padma, Kūrma, Liṅga, Kalki, Matsya, Agni, and Harivaṁśa Purāṇas do not name such a king. Kalki's testimony, like that of the Saura Purāṇa, cannot be taken to be serious, since its list is very incomplete and is silent even about those kings, whose historicity is beyond question.[1] But the same cannot be said for the rest of the group, which omits Prasenajita. The Purāṇas, which on the other hand give his name and history, are uniform in their descriptions. The Viṣṇu Purāṇa simply puts Prasenajita after Kriśāśva without any indication of the relation between the two The Bhāgavata makes him the son of Kriśāśva, which is also the case in the Vāyu, where it is said that he was the son of Haimavatī[2], perhaps the queen of Kriśāśva—the connection being not expressly mentioned. The testimony from the Śiva Purāṇa is somewhat different in as much it informs us that Haimavatī was the daughter of Kritāśva, i e., Kriśāśva, and so Prasenajita would not be the son of Kriśāśva but the son of his daughter. Not only this, Gaurī is said to have been his wife[3], who in

1 e. g , Kalki has nothing to say about any one from Vikuksi to Kriśāśva ; Saura stops at Dridhāśva, the 13th king from Manu and does not begin its account until it comes to Harischandra and beyond that stage also its account is not complete

2 संहताश्वो निकुम्भस्य सुतो रणविशारदः ।
कृताश्वश्चाक्षयाश्वश्च संहताश्वसुतावुभौ ॥
तस्यपत्नी हैमवती सता मतिद्दषद्वती ।
विख्याता त्रिपुलोकेषु पुत्रस्तस्याः प्रसेनजित् ॥ Vāyu 88 63-64

3. अक्षाश्वश्च कृताश्वश्च संहताश्वसुतोऽभवत् ।
तस्य हैमवती कन्या सता मान्या वृषद्वती ॥
विख्याता त्रिषु लोकेषु पुत्रस्तस्याः प्रसेनजित् ।
लेभे प्रसेनजिद्भार्यां गौरी नाम पतिव्रताम् ॥
अभिशप्तातुसा भर्त्रा नदी साबाहुदाकृता ।
Śiva, Pt II. Sec 5. 37. 41-3 ; HV. I. 12. 3-4 ; Br. 7. 90-1.

some other Purāṇas[1] is said to be the wife of the next king Yuvanāśva. Thus there is an apparent confusion and because of it Prasenajita cannot be taken as having been really a king of the Aikṣvāku line inspite of his mention in five of the very important Purāṇas. His non-mention in other Purāṇas, which number more than those in which he finds a place, also leads to that conclusion. Messers. Pargiter[2] and D. R. Mankad[3] include his name in the list but for reasons shown above, their views can hardly be accepted and he has to be omitted.

The line would then proceed after Kriśāśva as,

18. Yuvanāśva II
19. Māndhāta
20. Purukutsa - also mentioned in the Śat. Brā.[4] and the Ṛgveda.[5]
21. Trasadasyu - mentioned as Paurukutsya in the Ṛgveda.[6] He is not mentioned at all in some of the Purāṇas, e g., the Padma Purāṇa.
22. Sambhūta
23. Anaranya

Anaranya is not mentioned in the Padma Purāṇa,[7] where Sambhūti is put in. Sambhūti, however, may be taken for a patronymic for Anaraṇya. The Agni[8] and the Harivaṃśa[9] Purāṇas put in Sudhanvā in Anaraṇya's place but they seem to be obviously mistaken, for later in the same continuation not only the Padma, Agni, and Harivaṃśa but even the Brahma and Matsya Purāṇas do not give

1. युवनाश्वः सुतस्तस्य त्रिपुलोकेष्वतिन्नुतिः ।
अत्यन्तधार्मिकोगौरी तस्यपत्नी पतिव्रता ॥ Vāyu 88 65, Bḍ III.63.66 67.
2 AIHT P. 145.
3. Purānic Chronology, P 345.
4. XIII 5. 4. 5, XIII 5 4 1-19
5 I. 63 7.
6 IV. 42 8-9.
7. V 8 141.
8. 272.25.
9. Agni, 272. 25 ; HV. I. 12. 10.

any name till that of Tridhanvā, who occurs besides them in Viṣṇu, Kurma, Liṅga, and Vāyu Purāṇas. The lacuna in the Śiva Purāṇa is the greatest in this connection, since it does not supply any name after Purukutsa until that of Trayyāruṇi. It may not be concluded, however, that there were no kings in between and the list, according to a good number of important Purāṇas, runs as,

24. Pṛiṣadaśva or Vṛihadaśva
25. Haryaśva

The Viṣṇu Purāṇa is alone in making Hasta the son and successor of Haryaśva but, because it does not find any support from any of the other Purānas, Hasta's insertion has to be summarily rejected. Then the table would follow as,

26. Vasumanas - spelt also as Sumanaḥ[1] and Vasumata[2]
27. Tridhanvā
28. Traiyyāruna, also spelt as Trayyāruṇi[3] and Aruṇa[4]
29. Satyavrata (Triśaṅku)

Some Purāṇas[5] mention Satyaratha between Satyavrata and his successor Hariśchandra. But they seem to be evidently wrong and have to be rejected for the simple reason that all other Purānas are unanimous in dropping him,[6] and also because of the fact that the group of Purāṇas, in which Satyaratha's name is found, sometimes skip over some steps. This might have given opportunities to the reciters to insert some unwarranted names. After Satyavrata the genealogy proceeds as,

1. Viṣṇu, IV. 3 20.
2. Vāyu, 88. 76. It should be noted here that Mr. D. R. Mankad (Purānic chronology, P. 346) does not believe the kings from Anaranya to Vasumanas to have formed the main line but his reasons do not seem to be convincing.
3. Śiva, Pt II sec. 5, 37. 47.
4 Bhāg IX 7 4
5. Padma, V. 8. 142, Mat. 12. 37 ; Agni, 272. 26.
6. The Śiva Purāna says that Satyavrata had Satyarathā, who hailed from the Kekaya country, as his queen and Hariśchandra was born to her. vide - Pt II. section 5. 38. 19. This is supported by the Brahma Purāṇa (8 24) also.

30. Hariśchandra, Traiśaṅkava according to the Brahma and Harivaṁśa Purāṇas.[1]

31. Rohita

After Rohita there is a serious lacuna in five Purāṇas-Padma, Kūrma, Matsya, Agni, and Śiva, which do not mention any name upto Ruruka. But the Viṣṇu, Liṅga, Bhāgavata, Vāyu, Saura (excepting one step) and Harivaṁśa Purāṇas tell of four more names between Rohita and Vṛika. At least two of those names (Harita and Bharuka) are known to the Kalki Purāṇa also. The intervening names may be retained and the line should run as,

32. Harita.
33. Chañchu,[2] also mentioned as Dhundhu,[3] Hārīta[4] and Champa[5].
34. Vijaya
35. Ruruka, variously spelt as Ruchaka,[6] Bharuka[7], and Kuruka[8].

Afterwards the list fairly agrees down to Sarvakarmā as follows :—

36. Vṛika, wrongly spelt, it seems, Dhritaka in the Vāyu Purāna.[9]
37. Bāhu
38. Sagara
39. Asamañjasa. He did not rule and is mentioned in the Purānas simply to make up the genealogical list. He was

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1. Br. 8 25 , HV. I 13. 25.
2. Pargiter (AIHT P 147) treated Harita and Chañchu in the same step, one does not know why ?
3 Lg 66. 12 Dhundhu is said there to be Hārīta ; Saura 30 37.
4 Hārīta is only a patronymic here. Chañchu is the real name Vāyu 88. 19 ; Br. 8. 26 , HV. I. 13. 28
5. Bhāg IX 8. 1.
6. Lg 66 13.
7. Bhāg. IX 8 2 , Kalki III. 3. 17.
8 Saura. 30. 38.
9. 88. 121.

forsaken[1] by his father on account of his reproachable conduct, which took delight in throwing innocent children in the river Sarayū. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa[2] clearly says that Sagara gave up the kingdom in favour of his grandson, Aṅśumāna.

40. Aṅśumāna
41. Dilīpa I, wrongly styled as 'Khaṭṭvāṅga' in the Brahma[3] and Harivaṁśa[4] Purānas. This is an anachronism here in as much as this title was that of Dilīpa II, who would follow later in the list.
42. Bhagīratha
43. Śruta, not mentioned in the Padma, Matsya, and Agni Purānas.
44. Nābhāga, wrongly spelt as Nābha in the Bhāgavata[5] and the Kalki[6] Purānas.
45. Ambarīṣa, not mentioned in the Kūrma, Bhāgavata, Kalki, and Saura Purānas.
46. Sindhudvīpa
47. Ayutāyu, named as Śrutāyu in the Agni[7] and Ayutājita[8] in the Brahma, Harivaṁśa, and Śiva Purānas.
48. Ṛituparna, the friend of Nala.[9]

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1. Viṣ IV 4 10; Bhāg. IX 8 18, Bḍ. III. 63. 166; VR. I. 38 22.
2. IX. 8 30-31 says :-

   त परिक्रम्य शिरसा प्रसाद्य हयमानयत् ।
   सगरस्तेन पशुना क्रतुशेषं समानयत् ॥
   राज्यमंशुमति न्यस्य निस्पृहो मुक्तबन्धनः ।
   श्रौर्वोपदिष्टमार्गेण लेभेगतिमुत्तमाम् ॥

3. 8 74.
4. I. 15 13.
5. IX. 9. 16.
6. Pt. III 3 19.
7. Agni, 272. 30.
8. Br 8 79, HV. I. 15. 18; Śiva Pt. II. Sec 5 39. 10.
9. Br. 8. 80; Vāvu 88. 174; Bhāg. IX. 9. 17; Viṣṇu, IV. 4. 37; Bḍ. III. 63. 173; HV. I. 15. 19.

Dr. S. N. Pradhan[1] believes on the authority of the Mahābhārata that this "Rituparna was the king not of Ayodhyā in the Āryāvarta but of southern Kośala or Śaphāla in the Deccan". He is further of the opinion[2] that for so many generations down Ṛituparna the 'Southern Kośala line has been interwoven in the northern Kośala line and the confusion has been due to the names Dilīpa and Raghu, occuring in the Southern Kośala line" It is difficult, however, to successfully trace here the southward march of the Aikṣvākus, which is generally known from the Rāmāyana and the Purānas to have been first made by Rāma and his army, when they went to fight the Rākṣasas. The Purānas themselves do not give the slightest hint about the colonization of Dakṣina Kośala prior to Rāma's days. Furthermore, there is one clear difference between Ṛituparna of the Purāṇas and Ṛituparna of the Mahābhārata. The father of the latter is called Bhāṅgāsura or Bhagāśvara (Bhāṅgāsūri[3] or Bhāgāśvarī being the patronymic of Ṛituparna), while he is named as Ayutāyu or Ayutājita in almost all the Purānas. It seems the Purānas, inspite of their being right in tracing the genealogy of Ṛituparna, confused him with that mentioned in the Mahābhārata and so he came to be known as the friend of Nala at some later date.

49. Sarvakarmā. Brahma's Āttaparni[4] and Artaparni of the Harivamśa[5] Purāna may be taken as patronymics of Sarvakarmā, while Anuparṇa of the Śiva Purāna[6] seems to be an incorrect reading of Artaparni. The Kūrma, Linga, and Kalki Purāṇas do not mention him at all and jump at once to Sudāsa.

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1. Chronology of Ant. India. P. 145.
2 Ibid, P 152.
3. Cf. Ibid. P 145.
4 Br 8 80.
5 I. 15 20, The HV. says there :—

ऋतुपर्णसुतस्त्वासीदार्त्तपर्णिर्महीपतिः ।

6. Pt. II Sec. 5. 39 12.

50. Sudāsa. The Agni, Śiva, Matsya, and Padma Purāṇas neither mention him nor his predecessor Sarvakarmā. But he is otherwise very well known[1] to be dismissed as unhistorical.

51. Mitrasaha. He is also known as Saudāsa Kalmāṣapāda[2] or Kalmāṣāghri[3] Dr. Pradhan treats this Kalmāṣapāda to be the king of southern Kośala.[4] But he seems to be evidently wrong in that because even the Mahābhārata, on which he primarily relies for his evidence, expressly mentions him to be the ruler of Ayodhyā.[5] The other epic, Rāmāyana, also clearly implies that he was the king of Ayodhyā, when it gives[6] his story as that of one of the ancestors of Rāma. After him the line goes into two branches from his two sons, which is proved by a combined study of the Purāṇas on the one hand and the Mahābhārata on the other. The Padma, Brahma, Matsya, Agni, Harivaṁśa, and the Śiva Purāṇas give the line, which was perhaps the elder one and ruled at Ayodhyā and the Viṣṇu, Kūrma, Liṅga, Bhāgavata, Kalki, Vāyu, Saura, and Brahmānda supply us the names of the younger line. Mr. Pargiter thought that it was the younger line, which ruled from Ayodhyā and preferred it in comparison to the elder one. This is clear from the

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1. VR. VII. Ch. 65
2. Viṣ. IV. 4.40 ; Lg. 66.26 ; Br. 8 81 ; HV. I. 15-21 ; Kalki Pt. III. 3 20 ; Vāyu. 88 176.
3. Bhāg. IX. 9 18.
4. Op. Cit. P. 150.
5. The epic describes his coming back to Ayodhyā after his twelve years of cursed life in the following words .—
   ततः प्रतिययौ काले वसिष्ठः सह तेन वै ।
   ख्याता पुरीमिमां लोकेष्वयोध्यां मनुजेश्वरः ॥
   सुचिराय मनुष्येन्द्रो नगरीं पुण्यलक्षणाम् ।
   विवेशसहितस्तेन वसिष्ठेन महर्षिणा ॥ I.177.36 and 38.
6. VR. VII. Ch. 65.

genealogical table,[1] drawn up by him. We think, he was on weak grounds in that respect. The Mahābhārata informs that Kalmāṣapāda had two sons - the first being Sarvakarmā[2] and the second named Aśmaka,[3] who was begot by Vasiṣṭha in Kalmāṣapāḍa's queen[4] on that king's bidding. He is styled a Rājarsi in that epic and is said to have founded a city, Paudanya,[5] which is identified by Mr. Pradhan[6] with the city named Potanna, the capital of the Aśmakas, and is mentioned in the Buddhist literature to have been situated on the Godāvarī.[7] The Purānas also, as we have seen before, give two sets of kings after Kalmāṣapāda, one from Sarvakarmā and the other from Aśmaka. Both of them are declared by them as Kalmāsapāda's sons in their respective turns. If on the authority of the Mahābhārata Aśmaka is identified as the ancestor and the originator of the Aśmakas in the Dekkan - and there is nothing against that identification, it cannot be said that he was a ruler of Kośala in the north and in that event Sarvakarmā's line should be treated as the northern Kośala line. For a comparative study the two lines may be drawn up on the authority of the Purāṇas as under,

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1. AIHT PP. 94 and 147.
2. पराशरेण दायादः सौदासस्याभिरक्षितः ।
   सर्वकर्माणि कुरुते शूद्रवत्तस्य स द्विजः ॥
   सर्वकर्मेत्यभिख्यातः स मां रक्षतु पार्थिवः । XII.49.77-78.
3. ततोऽपि द्वादशे वर्षे स जज्ञे पुरुषर्षभः ।
   अश्मको नाम राजर्षिः पौदन्यं यो न्यवेशयत् । I. 147.47.
4. Ibid ; Bḍ. III. 63.177.
5. अश्मको नाम राजर्षिः पौदन्यो यो न्यवेशयत् । I. 177.47.
6. Op. Cit. P. 150.
7. Cf. Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, P. 20.

Mitrasaha Kalmāṣapāda

52. Sarvakaramā
53. Anaraṇya, wrongly called Araṇya in the Padma Purāṇa.
54. Nighna
55. Anamitra and Raghu I. The elder of the two, i.e., Anamitra went to the forest,[1] according to the Matsya Purāṇa, and Raghu I ruled.
56. Duliduha,[2] Muṇḍidruha, according to the Śiva Purāṇa The Padma, Agni, and Matsya Purāṇas do not mention him and say that Dilīpa, the son of Raghu I, followed the latter.

Aśmaka

Mūlaka, called Nakula in some Purāṇas.[3] The Vāyu Purāṇa puts in Urakāma between Aśmaka and Mūlaka. He may be dropped for lack of any other support.

Śataratha also spelt as Daśaratha[4]

Ilavila or Edavida.[5]

Viśvasaha

Dilīpa, styled as Khaṭṭvāṅga[6] or sometimes known[7] by this title alone.

57. Dilīpa II. Dilīpa II, who was known as Khaṭṭvāṅga, is common to both the groups of the Purāṇas, which give separately the two lines after Mitrasaha Kalmāṣapāda. From him onwards only one line, viz that of Ayodhyā, is treated in all the Purāṇas. Dr. Pradhan is of opinion[8] that the names of Dilīpa and Raghu are found in the southern Kośala line also besides those in the line of Ayodhyā. To the present writer, however, there seems neither any basis to regard the existence of any southern Kośala

1. 12 48
2. HV. I 15 24
3. Km. I. 21 13, Saura 30 46
4. Viṣṇu IV 4 75, Bhāg IX. 9 41 ; Kalki III. 3 21.
5. Bhāg IX 9 41, Kalki III 3 21, Vāyu 88 181.
6. Viṣṇu IV. 4 81, Liṅga 66 32 ; Vāyu 88.182
7. Km. I. 21.15, Kalki III 3.21 ; Saura 30 47.
8. Op Cit. P. 152.

line as possible nor the so-called existence of Dilīpa and and Raghu in that line. That Aśmaka and his descendants were not the kings of southern Kośala is accepted even by that learned scholar. So Dilīpa of both the groups of the Purāṇas is taken here to be Dilīpa II of the Ayodhyā Line. The difficulty about his parentage, which is differently mentioned in the various Purānas, is on account of the fact that for a few generations before him they give two different lines and in that process confussion has naturally crept in.

After Dilīpa II there is a serious lack of agreement in reading the original texts by most of the extant Purānas. In some Purānas Dīrghabāhu[1] is made an independent ruler altogether, but in at least two others[2] he is put as an adjective of Raghu. Kālidāsa in his Raghuvaṃśa[3] makes Raghu the direct descendant of Dilīpa That poet, whose genealogical table of the Aiksvākus is in very good accord with that of the Purānas, seems to have based the Raghuvaṃśa-genealogy on the original tradition itself. Dīrghabāhu, is "therefore a a later addition,"[4] and so this name, though accepted by Pargiter[5] as historical, does not seem to have formed the original line and may be dropped. This would exactly fit in with the statement of the Harivaṃśa Purāṇa, which says that Dilīpa was the great-great-grandfather of Rāma.[6] The table then would run as,

58. Raghu

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1. Viṣ IV 4 83 ; Km. I 21 16 ; Lg 66.37 ; Bhāg. IX. 10.1 ; Saura, 30 48 , Śiva Pt. II. Sec. 5 39 16.
2. Br. (8 85) says दीर्घबाहुर्दिलीपस्य रघुर्नाम्ना सुतोऽभवत् ॥ HV. I. 15 25 ; In the Kalki Purāna Dīrghabāhu and Khaṭṭvāṅga both are used as titles for Dilīpa II. vide III 3.21.
3. Sarga. III.
4. Mankad D. R., Purāṇic Chronology P. 350.
5. AIHT. P. 147.
6. दिलीपस्तनयस्तस्य रामप्रपितामहः ॥ HV. I. 15.24.

59. Aja. The Padma,[1] Matsya,[2] and Agni[3] Purāṇas again create a confusion in that they put Dīrghabāhu after Aja, who in his own turn is followed by Prajāpāla or Ajapāla. It is a clear mistake and has to be set aside. Then the line would be,

60. Daśaratha

61. Rāma

The Post-Rāma genealogy of Ayodhyā

The post-Rāma genealogy of the Aikṣvākus is supplied by the Purānas in a very confused manner They seem to have forgotten their own declaration that Rāma in his own life-time divided his kingdom, his parental heritage as well as new conquests, not between his own two sons, Kuśa and Lava, alone but also the sons of his three brothers.[4] No doubt, whatsoever, about the division of his realm remains after a perusal of the Vālmikī's Rāmāyaṇa[5] and the Raghuvamśa of Kālidāsa.[6] It is legitimate and fair then to expect that the Purānas should have separately supplied the genealogy of the two lines beginning from Kuśa and Lava. Our expectations are only partly fulfilled, as we shall see further, in that they do give the two lines but with the serious limitation that they treat those two lines in one continuation as a single line. In the process they confuse the whole genealogical table of the Aikṣvākus. Mr. Pargiter, who relied mostly on the Purānas alone and sometimes neglected the other sources, accepted[7] the post-Rāma genealogy given by the Viṣṇu, Brahma, Bhāgavata, Vāyu, Śiva, and Kalki (only partly)

1. Padma V 8 153,
2. Mat 12 49 The confusion is patent here in that one Ajaka is placed before Dīrghabāhu and another Ajapāla is put after him.
3 Agni, 272 33
4 Vāyu, 88 184-190 and 199-200 ; Pad. VI. 271.54-5 , Bd. III.63. 187-191 and 198-200
5. VII Chs 101-2 and 107-108.
6. XV 89-98 and XVI. 3.
7. AIHT. P. 149.

Purāṇas as forming a single line of kings. Dr. S. N. Pradhan[1], however, seems to have been eminently successful in showing the Purāṇic limitations regarding the problem under our discussion here. His arguments, based as they are on the collective evidence of the Purāṇas, the Mahābhārata, and the later Vedic literature, are quite convincing and irrefutable. Relying on his findings on the one hand and drawing upon other independent sources on the other it shall be our effort to reconstruct the solar line after Rāma and thrash out the various problems as they arise in that process.

That Rāma had two sons, Kuśa and Lava, is accepted by all the sources.[2] We are also told that apart from the division by Rāma of the new conquests between the sons of his brothers,[3] Kuśa and Lava were respectively established and coronated by him in Kuśāvatī[4] and Śrāvastī or Śarāvatī.[5] The Purāṇas are criptic here in as much as they do not expressly inform that Ayodhyā, the kośalan capital upto then, was given up. Fortunately Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa comes to our aid and there is a clear mention in it that after Kuśa and Lava were coronated in their new capitals, Kuśāvatī and Śrāvastī respectively, Ayodhyā was forsaken.[6] The Purāṇas

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1. Chronology of Ant India, Ch X.
2. Viṣṇu IV. 4 104 ; Vāyu, 88 198 , Bhāg. IX 11.11 , Mat. 12.51 ; Agni, 272 36 , Padma, V 8 156 , Bd III. 63 198 Br. (8 87) does not mention Lava at all , Raghuvamśa XV 32 , VR. VII. 66 9
3. VR VII. Chs 101-102 and 107 ; Raghuvamśa XV. 89-98 and XVI. 3 ; Vāyu 88 200ff.
4. VR. VII 107.17 and VII 108,4 : Raghuvamśa, XV. 97 , Vāyu, 88 199 ; Padma, VI. 271 55.
5. VR VII 108 5 , Raghuvamśa, XV.97 ; Vāyu, 88 200. The Padma Purāna, (VI. 271.55) wrongly puts in Dvārāvatī instead of Śrāvastī as the capital of Lava
6. कुशस्य नगरी रम्या विंध्यपर्वतरोधसि ।
   कुशावतीति नाम्ना साकृता रामेण धीमता ॥
   श्रावस्तीति पुरी रम्या श्राविता च लवस्य च ।
   अयोध्यां विजना कृत्वा राघवो भरतस्तदा ॥ V.R. VII. 108. 4-5

again do not mention as to when Ayodhyā was reoccupied. Kālidāsa, however, fills in that lacuna and says that accepting the requests of the inhabitants of that city, which had sunk to miserable conditions[1] after being given up as the royal capital, Kuśa left Kuśāvatī, his new capital, and started for it (Ayodhyā) again.[2] He evidently occupied it. It may be presumed that the Purāṇas imply it, since they at once begin to give us the names of those, who succeeded Kuśa on the Kośalan throne. Kālidāsa follows[3] them upto Agnivarṇa and in the process repeats their mistake of amalgamating the two lines of kings from Kuśa and Lava respectively into one and giving the genealogical table in only one stretch. The Purāṇas start with Kuśa,[4] the king of the Ayodhyā line and end with Brihadbala,[5] a king of the Śrāvastī line, who is clearly the ancestor of Prasenajita,[6] who was a king of Śrāvasti and so a descendant of Lava. There is an apparent confusion, which deserves to be cleared off. Starting from this basis, the Aiksvāku genealogy can and should be treated as running into two parallel lines, one which runs from Kuśa and the second that follows from Lava. We shall proceed with the Ayodhyā line at present, which is shown in the Purāṇas as follows :—

62. Kuśa
63. Atithi

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1. Raghuvamśa, XVI. 11ff.
2. कुशावतीं श्रोत्रियसात्सकृत्वा यात्रानुकूलेऽहनि सावरोधः ।
अनुद्रुतो वायुरिवाभ्रवृन्दैः सैन्यैरयोध्याभिमुखः प्रतस्थे ॥
Raghuvamśa, XVI. 25.
3. Raghuvamśa, Ch XVIII.
4. Vāyu, 88.201 ; Bhāg. IX.12 1; Padma, V 8.156 ; Agni 272 38 ; Viṣṇu, IV. 4. 105, HV. I 15. 27, Mat. 12. 52, Śiva, Pt. II. Sec. 5. 39 19, Lg 66 38, Km. I 21.56,
5. Vāyu, 88 212, Bhāg IX. 12 8; Viṣnu, IV. 4. 112 ; HV. I. 15 34; Śiva Pt II. Sec. 5 39 31, Lg. 66 42.
6. Refer to Bhāg. IX 12 9 ff; Viṣnu, IV. 22.2ff; Śiva, Pt. II. Section 5 39.32ff, Matsya, 270, 4ff.

64. Niṣadha
65. Nala
66. Nabhāḥ, also called Nābha
67. Puṇḍarīka, styled as Puṇḍarīkākṣa in the Kūrma Purāṇa.[1]
68. Ksemadhanvā, called Sudhanvā in the Agni Purāṇa.[2] He is named as Kṣemadhritvan Pauṇḍarīka in the Pāñchaviṁśa Brāhmana.[3]
69. Devānīka
70. Ahīnagu

Upto Ahīnagu, the Purāṇas, which give the Aikṣvāku genealogy, are in perfect agreement but after that stage they seem to be divided into groups of separate descriptions of genealogy. The Viṣṇu, Bhāgavata, Harivamśa, Vāyu, Śiva, partly Brahma, and Kalki Purāṇas form the first group dealing with one set and line of kings. The Padma, Kūrma, Liṅga, Matsya, and Agni Purānas give a second list of kings, which runs as follows .—

Sahasrāśva
|
Chandrāvaloka
|
Tārāpīda or Tārādhīśa, according to the Kūrma Purāna
|
Chandragiri
|
Bhānuśchandra, called Chandra in the Padma and Bhānuvitta in the Kūrma Purāṇa.
|
Śrutāyu. This Śrutāyu is said to have been killed by Arjuna in the Mahābhārata[4] war. Pargiter thinks him to have been the same as Bṛihadbala[5] but, as Dr. Pradhan says[6], the two were not one.

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1 Km. I 21. 57
2 Ag 272 37
3. एतेन वै क्षेमधृत्वापौण्डरीक इष्ट्वा सुदाम्नस्तीर उत्तरे etc. XXII. 18.7.
4. Mbh. VII. 91 37 and 93·60.
5. JRAS. 1910, P. 18.
6. Op Cit. P. 119. He thinks that Śrutāyu was a king of the Ambaṣṭhas.

This second set of kings seems to have belonged to some other dynasty than that of Kośala and cannot be said to have formed the line of Ayodhyā.

The first group goes upto Bṛihadbala, who belonged to the Śrāvastī line. Ostensibly, there must be some intervening point, wherefrom the descendants of Lava are added to those of the successors of Kuśa by the first group of the Purāṇas mentioned above. Dr. S. N. Pradhan's arguments in fixing Hiranyanābha, who has been mentioned in the Purānas in the line of Kuśa, as the last king of the Ayodhyā line look to to be plausible enough. His various approaches and the sifting of evidence to show that Hiranyanābha was quite posterior to the Mahābhārata heroes and was probably contemporaneous with Janamejaya seem to be irrefutable.[1] Mr. Pargiter also conceded[2] that the Purāṇas[3] make him one of the 'future' kings of Ayodhyā. He put him five generations after Vyāsa. Relying, however, on the confused and amalgamated genealogy of the Aiksvāku kings, after Kuśa and Lava established separate dynasties, he thought that the Purānas are wrong in putting him after the Mahābhārata days. This is an opinion, which leans too much on credulousness and has no authority to support. We may add here that the genealogical table of the Purāṇas under question puts Puṣya[4] as the son and successor of Hiranyanābha, which he was really not, as is proved by the Śatapatha Brāhmana,[5] where Para Āṭṇāra, the Kośalan king, is styled as Hairaṇyanābha, i. e.,

1. Op. Cit PP. 123ff.
2 AIHT., PP. 173 and 325
3. Vāyu 61. 44-8 , Bḍ. III. 63 207 , Viṣnu III. 6 1-4
4. पुष्यांहिरण्यनाभस्य ध्रुवसन्धिस्ततोऽभवत् । Bhāg. IX. 12 5.
हिरण्यनाभस्यपुत्रः पुष्यः तस्माद्ध्रुवसंधिः । etc. Viṣ IV 4 108.
पुष्यस्तस्य सुतो विद्वान् ध्रुवसंधिश्च तत्सुतः । Vāyu. 88. 209.
5. अभिजिदतिरात्रस्तेन ह पर आट्णार ईजे कौसल्यो राजा तदेतद्गाथयाभिगीतमटणारस्य परः पुत्रोऽश्वं मेध्यबन्धयत् हैरण्यनाभः कौसल्यो दिशः etc. XIII 5.4 4; Jaim. upa. Brā. II.6.

Para, the son of Aṭnāra, who was the son of Hiraṇyanābha. This serious limitation precludes them from being accepted as carrying forward the genuine tradition here. It may be again noted that the testimony of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, as noticed above, also discounts Dr. Raychaudhuri's identification[1] of Hiraṇyanābha with Mahākosala of the Buddhist tradition—an identification, which is more conjectural and hypothetical than based on any evidence. Neither the date of the Śatapatha Brāhmana nor Hiraṇynābha Kausalya can be put so late as the sixth century B. C. There is also no ground, whatsoever, to identify Aṭnāra with Prasenajita, which would be imperative in case of Hiraṇyanābha's identification with Mahākosala. So the identification of Hiraṇyanābha with Mahākosala falls through.

Noting that Hiranyanābha was posterior to the Mahābhārata war by a few generations, we may leave aside those kings, who are said to have directly succeeded him in the Visnu-Vāyu-Harivamśa group of the Purānas and trace the line of Ayodhyā after Ahīnagu, which runs as,

71. Pāripātra or Pāriyātra.[2] He is probably Sudhanvā of the Harivaṁśa[3] and Brahma[4] Purānas.

The Visnu Purāna[5] puts in Ruru between Ahīnagu and Pāriyātra, but since it does not find any support from any other source, he has to be dropped.

There is some confusion after Pāriyātra as well. The Visnu Purāna says[6] that after Pāriyātra came Devala or Dala and then came Vachhala, i. e., Chala. The Harivaṁśa

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1 PHAI. PP. 102-3

2. Dr. S. N. Pradhan (Op. Cit. P 121) identifies Pāriyātra with king Parīkṣita, the Aikṣvāku king of Ayodhyā, mentioned in the Mahābhārata (III. 192 3).

3 I 15.30

4. 8 91

5 IV. 4 106.

6 IV. 4.106.

Purāṇa[1] names Anala as the grandson of Sudhanvā, probably another name for Pāriyātra. The Bhāgavata Purāna[2] introduces after Pāriyātra firstly Bala and then Sthala. The Brahma Purāṇa[3] informs that Sudhanvā was the grand father of Śala. It seems Pāriyātra had three sons-Dala, Bala, who is also styled as Valāhaka,[4] and Śala, who may be identified with Chala of the Viṣṇu, Sthala of the Bhāgavata, and Anala of the Harivaṁśa Purāna. The statement of the Vāyu Purāṇa[5] that Bala was the son of Dala is evidently a mistake. It is neither possible to correctly say as to who was the eldest of these three brothers, nor to contend whether only one or two or all of them ruled one after another. Since they were all brothers, their succession could not have been lineal and as collateral princes they may be said to have formed only one step. So the line would be drawn as,

Pāriyātra

72. Śala — Dala — Bala

73. Uktha. He was the son of Bala and is called Auṅka in the Vāyu,[6] Ulūka in the Brahmānda,[7] Ukya in the Brahma,[8] (wrongly accepted as the son of Śala), Arka in the Bhāgavata[9], and Yakṣa in the Śiva Purāna.[10] Dr. S N. Pradhan[11] identifies this Uktha with Dīrgha-

1. I 15.30
2. IX 12.2
3. 8 91 says :—सुधन्वनः सुतश्चापि ततो जज्ञे शलो नृपः ॥
4. Kalki, III. 4 2
5. 88 204.
6. 88 205
7. Bḍ III 63.205.
8. 8 92
9. IX. 12 2.
10. Pt. II. Section 5, 39 24.
11. Op. Cit. PP. 127-8

yajña of the Mahābhārata,[1] whom Bhīma defeated before the Rājasūya sacrifice. He is thus placed as a contemporary of Bṛihadbala of the Śrāvastī line.

74. Vajranābha, called Rajanābha in the Kalki Purāṇa[2] and omitted in the Śiva Purāna.

75. Śaṅkhana, also styled as Khagaṇa,[3] Śaṅkha[4] and Aguṇa.[5]

76. Dhyusitāśva, variously styled as Vyuṣitāśva,[6] Vidhṛiti[7] and Vighrīta.[8]

77. Viśvasaha, mentioned only in the Vāyu and the Viṣṇu Purānas.[9]

78. Hiraṇyanābha.

This Hiranyanābha was the last Ayodhyā-line Aikṣvāku king, mentioned in the Purānas. After him they begin the Śrāvastī line with which they amalgamate the line of Ayodhyā. The ground for treating the kings mentioned after Hiranyanābha as belonging to the Śrāvastī line is clear. It is perfectly known from other sources, chiefly Vedic, that Atnāra was the son of Hiranyanābha and not Pusya or Puṣpa, whom the Purānas make his (Hiranyanābha's) son. So Pusya has to be traced in some other line. That line has been very well proved by Dr. S. N. Pradhan[10] to have been that of Śrāvastī, descending from Lava.

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1. ततः कुमारविषये श्रेणिमन्तमथाजयत् ।
कोशलाधिपतिञ्चैव बृहद्वलमरिन्दमः ॥
अयोध्यायां तु धर्मज्ञं दीर्घयज्ञं महाबलम् ।
अजयत्पाण्डवश्रेष्ठो नातितीव्रेण कर्मणा ॥ II. 30. 1-2.
2. Kalki III 4.2
3. Ibid III 4.3 ; Bhāg. IX 12.3
4. HV. I. 15 32.
5. Śiva, Pt. II. Section 5.39.24
6. Viṣṇu IV 4 106.
7. Bhāg. IX. 12.3 , Śiva, Pt. II. Sec. 5. 39.24.
8. Kalki, III. 4.3.
9. Vāyu 88 206 ; Viṣṇu IV. 4.106.
10. Op. Cit. PP. 129ff.

The Pre-Mahābhārata genealogy of the Śrāvasti line

Lava's place in the Aiksavāku line would be collateral with his elder brother, Kuśa, and so his number also would be 62nd in the genealogical table. After him came the following :—

63. Pusva, called Puspa[1] in the Kalki and Harivaṁśa Purāṇas
64. Dhruvasandhi, called Dhruva[2] in the Kalki and Arthasiddhi[3] in the Harivaṁśa Purāṇa.
65. Sudarśana
66. Agnivarna
67. Śīghra
68. Maru. The Vāyu Purāna[4] calls him Manu, which seems to be a mistake of the Scribe. The Śiva Purāna[5] calls him Maruta, which is evidently the same as Maru.
69. Prasuśruta, The Śiva Purāna[6] names him as Pṛthuśruta.
70. Sandhi or Susandhi
71. Amarsa or Amarsana, according to the Bhāgvata Purāna.[7]
72. Mahasvāna, named as Sahasvāna in the Vāyu[8] and Marutvāna in the Śiva Purāna.[9]

After Mahasvāna there are two sub-groups of those of the Purānas, which give this line. The Visnu and Vāyu Purānas give only two names, viz those of Viśrutavāna and Brihadbala after him, while the Bhāgavata and the Śiva supply us four names, which are as follows :—

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1. Kalki, III. 4 3, HV. I 15 32.
2. Kalki, III 4 3
3. HV I 15 32
4. 88 210.
5. Pt. II Sec 5. 39,28
6. Ibid Pt. II. Sec. 5.39 30.
7. IX. 12 7.
8. 88.211.
9. Pt. II. Section 5 39 30.

73. Viśvasāhva, who may be identified with Viśrutavāna of the Viṣṇu-Vāyu sub-group, there being great phonetic similarity between the two names.
74. Prasenajita I
75. Takṣaka
76. Bṛhadbala, who fought on behalf of the Kauravas in the Mahābhārata war and was ultimately killed by Abhimanyu, the son of Arjuna.[1]

The Post-Māhābharata Genealogy of the Śrāvastī Line

The post-Bṛihadbala genealogy of the Kośalan kings of Śrāvastī is found[2] in the Matsya, Visnu, Śiva, Bhāgavata, Vāyu, and Brahmānda Purānas in more or less an agreed manner. It is difficult, however, to vouchsafe the complete veracity of that genealogy. There is no other corroborative evidence. The Buddhist Jātakas give us many names of Kośalan kings in relation to their struggle against the kings of Kāśī, but their is a complete lack of chronology in them. Moreover there is nothing definite to identify any of those kings with those mentioned in the Purānas. Only two later kings, Prasenajita and his son Vidūḍabha, who are mentioned in the Buddhist literature, can be identified with Prasenajita II and Śūdraka or Kṣudraka[3] respectively of the Purānas. Even Mahākosala can not be traced in the Purānic lists. We have a doubt, however, whether Mahākosala was the proper name of the father[4] of Prasenajita II or not It seems most probably to be an adjective. There are many kings mentioned in the Purānic lists, who

Purānic limitations

1. Bhāg IX. 12.8; Viṣnu, IV. 4 112; Lg 66 42.
2. Mt 270 4-16, Bhāg. IX. 12. 9-16 ; Viṣnu IV. 22. 1-13 ; Śiva Pt. II Sec. 5. 39 33-42, Vāyu, 99 280-293 , Bd. III. 74 104-117.
3. Bhāg. IX 12 14 ; Śiva. II, Sec. 5. 39-40, Viṣ.-IV. 22.8-9 ; Mat. 270.13 ; DKA , P 67.
4. The Dulva (Rockhill, Life of Buddha, P. 16) says that Prasenajita was the son of Aranemi Brahmadatta of Śrāvastī, which is quite confounding.

have been given their place or family-names, e. g., Kausalya or Kauśalya and Aikṣvāku, besides their own proper names. There have also been some personalities, famous in Kośalan history, whose proper names are not known at all, the most prominent examples being those of Kaikeyī and Kauśalyā, the two queens of king Daśaratha. Is it not possible that Mahākosala also might fall in the same category ? It seems reasonably certain that he got this title at the hands of his contemporaries on account of his wide possessions including that of the kingdom of Kāśī. It looked so important in the eyes of the people after a comparatively long and insignificant period of Kośalan history that they personified him with the greatness of Kośala itself and he became so much famous by his new title 'Mahākosala' that his own proper name was completely forgotten. There might be two possibilities regarding his identification Firstly, he may be identified with Sañjaya[1] of the Purānic lists on the clear assumption that the three names immediately preceding Prasenajita II, viz. those of Śākya, Śuddhodana, and Rāhula, are definitely no names of Kosalan kings and their insertion in the Purānic lists is a patent mistake of the Paurānikas. Sañjaya has been said in the Purānas to have been a warrior king,[2] which might point to the bravery of Mahākosala The second possibility is - and this ranges on the borders of probability, that the Purānic mistake of incorrectly inserting the above-mentioned three names might have resulted in another mistake of passing Mahākosala over altogether.

We may proceed to examine the correctness or otherwise of the post-Mahābhārata genealogy of the Kośalan kings from another angle. The date of Prasenajita II is more or less certain. In perhaps the last year of his life, he claimed for himself the same age as that of the Buddha, i. e., of eighty

1. Visnu IV. 22 8, Bhāg. IX 12.13; Mat. 270.11, Śiva II Sec. 5 39 39.
2. DKA. P 67.

years.[1] He died in that (eightieth) very year, for the Buddhist tradition informs[2] that it was Prasenajita's last meeting at Metalumpa with the Buddha, when he made that claim. After that meeting he returned to find with amazement and agony that he was forsaken by his revengeful commander, Dīrgha Kārāyana, who had gone to accompany him but, finding an opportunity to feed fat his ancient grudge,[3] had returned back to Śrāvastī and enthroned in Prasenajita's place his revolting son, Vidūdabha. The king thought of securing aid from his son-in-law, Ajātaśatru, proceeded to Pātaliputra, reached there in the evening but finding the gates of the city closed he had to wait outside, fell ill out of sheer exhaustion, and died before[4] he could rescue his position. As the Buddha died in 483 B. C. at the age of eighty years - most probably a few months after his last and fateful meeting with Prasenajita at Metalumpa but not before he had himself seen the destruction of the Śākyas at the hands of the new Kośalan king Vidūdabha, Prasenajita's last year of reign may be taken as 483 B. C.

Let us start from Prasenajita II and go upward to count the post-Mahābhārata Purānic list of kings, who came on the Kośalan throne and see whether the intervening numbers are correct or not. Accepting that Śākya, Śuddhodana and Rāhula are mistaken insertions in the Purāṇic lists, those

1. भगवाऽपि कोसलको अहम्पि कोसलको ।
भगवाऽपि असीतिको अहम्पि असीतिको ॥ etc.
MN. II 4 9 (Dhammachetiya Suttanta).
The Dulva (Rockhill, Life of Buddha, P. 16) says that he was born on the same day, on which Buddha was born
2. Aṭṭhakathā, quoted by Rahula Sankrityayana in his 'Buddha-charyā' (Hindi) PP. 473 ff
3. Ibid. His grudge was against the disrespectful treatment meted out by Prasenajita to his uncle, Bandhula, and turning him out from the post of a Judge and Commander in-chief.
4. Atthakathā quoted by Rahula Sankrityayana (op. cit. P. 480, footnote 1).

three may be excluded. The steps, which remain, count twenty in the Matsya and Bhāgavata Purāṇas, twenty one in the Śiva Purāṇa, and twenty two in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, which Mr. Pargiter accepted in his Purāṇa Texts.[1] Bṛihadbala is naturally excluded in this calculation. Now, accepting eighteen years[2] as an average reign-period for one king, the total reign-period for the whole Post-Mahābhārata Aikṣvāku dynasty upto Prasenajita II comes to $22 \times 18 = 396$ years. We have seen above that Prasenajita's last year of reign was 483 B. C. The date of the Bhārata war then would be $483 + 396 = 879$ B. C. This is undoubtedly a very lower date and cannot be accepted. Only one inference is possible then and it is that the genealogy is not complete.

One is fully supported in the above inference after a study of the Buddhist Jātakas, which mention many a king of Kośala as struggling[3] sometimes for their independence and safety and at other times for their supremacy over the powerful and neighbouring kingdom of the Brahmadattas in Kāśī. We know nothing from the Purānas about the Kośalan kings - Mallikā of the Rājovāda Jātaka,[4] Prince Chhatta (later king) of the Brahachhatta Jātaka,[5] Vaṅka of the Ghata Jātaka,[6] Prince Dīghāvu (later king) of the Dighītikosala Jātaka,[7] Dighīti of the Kosāmbi Jātaka,[8] and Dabbasena of the Ekarāja Jātaka[9] Nothing is known from the Purānas of Mahākosala and many others, who are spoken as kings of Kośala in the Jātakas.[10] It is absolutely impossible to identify any of

1. DKA. PP. 66-67.
2. Mr Pargiter also adopts the above average in his calculation. of. AIHT P. 182.
3. See ahead ch. VI.
4. No 151.
5. No. 336.
6. No. 355.
7. No. 371.
8. No. 428.
9. Ekarāja Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed) III. PP. 13-15
10. See, for example, Jātaka Nos 51, 100, 156, 351, 532 & 536.

the above-mentioned kings with those mentioned in the Purāṇic lists. It will not be proper, however, to dismiss them altogether as unhistorical and say that they did not belong to the Kośalan line at all. We may conclude that the Purāṇic genealogy of the Kośalan kings of Śrāvastī suffers from the serious limitation of being incomplete to the extent of excluding many rulers, who are otherwise well known to be passed over and also that they are sometimes incorrect in including some names that are definitely known not to have belonged to the line, e. g, Śākya, Śuddhodana and Rāhula. It may be noted at the same time that the information that we receive from the Jātakas is also not so complete and systematic as to finally help us in filling in the Purāṇic gaps and settle the chronology with any fair degree of certainty.

Before we further proceed to give the genealogical table of the Aiksvāku dynasty of Śrāvastī, it seems opportune to refer in passing to the date of the Bhārata war. Mr. Pargiter worked it out[1] to be about 950 B. C. on the basis of an average reign-period of eighteen years, separately multiplied by the total number of rulers in each of the Post-Mahābhārata but pre-Mauryan dynasties of north India, the genealogies of which are known from the Purānas. It has just been seen how the list of the kings of the Kośalan dynasty is incomplete and it would not be wrong in supposing that the lists of all the Post-Mahābhārata dynasties given in the Purānas suffer from that limitation.[2] Once it is admitted, the whole ground from the bottom of Mr. Pargiter's theory is knocked down and the date of the Great Bhārata War would have to be perforce extended further beyond 950 B. C. The general acceptance that the great war occurred in about 1400 B. C. seems to be based on a just and proper calculation.

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1. Op. Cit. PP. 179-183.
2. Mr. Pargiter himself in another place (JRAS. 1910, P.7) accepted the incompleteness of the Purāṇic genealogies.

We may now proceed to draw the genealogical table of the Kośalan kings of the line of Śrāvastī on the basis of whatever is known from the Purāṇas. Brihadbala's number in the line has already been fixed before as 76th. After him the line runs as,

77. Brihadraṇa,[1] also spelt as Bṛihatkṣaṇa[2] and Bṛihatkṣaya[3]
78. Urukṣaya,[4] sometimes confused with Bṛihatksaya[5] and also named Urakriya.[6]
79. Vatsavṛiddha,[7] also called=Vatsavyūha[8] and Vatsadroha,[9] evidently a wrong spelling as no body would like to call himself or his son Vatsadroha (one, who is jealous of boys).
80. Pratıvyoma, Pratıvyūha of the Vāyu Purāna.[10]
81. Dıvākara, named by the Bhāgavata and Śıva Purānas[11] as Bhānu and Dıvāka respectively, which mean the same as Divākara.

Dıvākara is said ın the Purānas[12] to have been the possessor of Ayodhyā ın the Madhyadeśa. After all, what ıs the purpose of the Purāṇas to particularly name him and not others, who came before or after him, as the master of Ayodhyā ? There seems to be only one reason. It ıs that the independent solar line of Ayodhyā, which had contınued independently since Kuśa, could not remain a separate entity any more and was absorbed in the Śrāvastī line - very probably through conquest. This admirably fits in with the Purānic testimony about

1. Bhāg IX 12 9, Śıva Pt II. Sec 5 39 33
2. Vısnu, IV 22 2
3. DKA. P 66
4. Mat. 270.4, Vısnu, IV 22 3
5. DKA P 66.
6. Bhāg. IX. 12 10, Śıva, Pt. II Sec. 5, 39 33.
7. Śıva Pt II, Sec 5,39 34, Bhavışya quoted ın DKA. P. 66 (note).
8. Vısnu, IV. 22.3 , DKA P 66.
9. Matsya, 270 5.
10. Cf. DKA. P 66.
11. IX. 12 10, Śıva II. Sec. 5 39 34.
12. Mat 270 5, Vāyu. 99.282.

the genealogy of that line, which we have already discussed before and have seen as to how Hiranyanābha Kausalya[1] has been represented by the Purāṇas as the last ruler. The Vedic testimony refers[2] to his son Atṇāra as well. It is certain, Divākara found either Hiraṇyanābha or his son too much engaged in religion, sacrifices, and learning, as they are undoubtedly known from the Purānas[3] as well as the Vedic[4] works, and took the opportunity of uniting the two lines of Śrāvastī and Ayodhyā into one compact unit. That Divākara was most probably an elder contemporary of Hiranyanābha or his son Aṭṇāra may be easily concluded from the fact that the former was sixth in generation from Bṛihadbala, the last king of the line of Śrāvastī before the Mahābhārata war. Hiranyanābha and Atnāra-were sixth and seventh respectively from Uktha[5] (Dīrghayajña[6] of the Mahābhārata days), a contemporary of Brihadbala and a ruler of the line of Ayodhyā. It may also be noted here that Divākara was a contemporary of the Magadhan king Senajita and the Paurava king Adhisīmakṛisna, in whose reign the Purānas were first recited by the Paurānika Sūta.[7]

After Divākara came,

82. Sahadeva

83. Vrihadaśva. He is named as Dhruvāśva in the Matsya Purāna.[8]

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1. Refer to the 78th step of the genealogy, as discussed before.
2. Śat. Brā. XIII. 5. 4. 4 , SSS XVI 9 13.
3. Bḍ. III. 63.207 208 , Viṣ III. 6.4 , IV. 4.48 ; Vāyu. 61.34 , 88 208, HV I 15 31 It may be noted here that the Purānas do not refer to Atnāra.
4. Śat. Brā XIII. 5 4.4 , SSS XVI. 9.13 ; Taitt Sam. V. 6.5.3 , Kaṭha Sam. XXII. 3 ; Pāñch. Brāh. XXV. 16.3.
5. See Ante. 73rd step of the Ayodhyā-line ; refer also to Dr. S. N. Pradhan, Chronology of Ant. India. PP. 127-8.
6. Mbh. II. 30 1-2.
7. Cf S. N Pradhan, Chronology of Ant. India P. 254.
8. 270 6.

84. Bhānuratha, called Bhānumāna or Bhānumata in the Bhāgavata and Śiva Purāṇas[1] and Mahābhāga in the Matsya[2] Purāna.
85. Pratīpāśva, named as Pratīkāśva[3] or Pratītāśva[4] or Pratīvya[5] as well.
86. Supratīka
87. Marudeva
88. Sunaksatra
89. Kinnarāśva or Kinnara, wrongly known, it seems, as Puskara from the Śiva and Bhāgavata Purāṇas.[6]
90. Antariksa
91. Sutapa,[7] also known a Suparna[8] or Suseṇa[9].
92. Amitrajita, known as Mitrachita[10] from the Śiva Purāna.
93. Vṛihadrāja-named as Vrihadbhoja in the Śiva Purāṇa[11] and Bhāradvāja in the Vāyu.[12]
94. Dharmin - misspelt as Varhi in the Bhāgavata[13] Purāna and called Vīrayavana in the Matsya Purāna[14].
95. Kritañjaya
96. Ranañjaya. The Garuda Purāṇa calls him Dhanastraya.[15]
97. Sañjaya

After Sañjaya three or four steps are clearly mistaken. The first step is formed by Śākya, which was the

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1 Bhāg IX. 12.11 , Śiva. II. Sec. 5 39 35.
2. 270.7.
3. Bhāg IX 12.11 ; Śiva II. SEC. 5 , 39.36.
4. DKA P 66 , Viṣnu, IV 22.4.
5. Bhaviṣya quoted in DKA P. 66.
6. Śiva II Sec 5 39 37 , Bhāg IX. 12 12.
7. Ibid. 39 38 , IX 12 12 respectively.
8 Viṣṇu, IV. 22 5 ; DKA. P. 66
9. Matsya 270 9
10. Śiva. II Sec 5 39.38.
11. Ibid 39. 38.
12. Cf DKA. P. 67
13 IX. 12 13.
14. 270.10.
15. Cf. DKA. P 67.

family name of another branch of the Aikṣvākus, who had migrated to Kapilavastu,[1] and not that of any particular king. The second name is that of Śuddhodana, also misspelt as Kruddhodana[2]. He is known from the Buddhist sources[3] to have been the president of the Śākyan Gaṇa of Kapilavastu. The third unwarranted insertion of an extra name is that of Siddhārtha, according to the Matsya[4] and some other Purāṇas.[5] Siddhārtha is undoubtedly the Buddha, who, not to say of reigning in Kośala, did not succeed to his father's political position even in Kapilavastu. He is not mentioned in the Visnu, Bhāgavata, and the Śiva Purāṇas, where Rāhula or Rātula or even Lāṅgala–evidently various forms of one and the same–name, is put in.[6] Mr Pargiter in his collated lists mentions[7] Siddhārtha and Rāhula both, which is evidently wrong. Like Siddhārtha, Rāhula has also to be summarily dismissed. He was the Buddha's son and was initiated into the Buddhist order at the behest of the latter.[8] The next rulers in the line then would be,

98. Prasenajita II[9]

99. Ksudraka, or Śūdraka.[10] He has to be certainly identified with Vidūdabha of the Buddhist works.

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1. DN. (Bom Uni. Pub) Pt. I. P. 101, Pt. II. PP 103, 131.
2. Viṣnu. IV 22.8.
3. Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed.) Vol IV. P. 50, DN. (Bom. Uni. Pub.) Pt II P. 7, Lalitavistara, XII. 115
4. 270. 12.
5. Cf DKA. P 67.
6. Bhāg, IX. 12 14, Viṣ. IV. 22. 8, Śiva Pt. II. Sec. 5.39.40.
7. DKA. P. 67.
8. Mahāvagga (Vinayapiṭaka), I 3 11.
9. The Dulva says (Rockhill, The Life of Buddha P.16) that Prasenajita was the son of King Aranemi Brahmadatta of Śrāvastī It is a mistake. The Brahmadattas were kings of Vārāṇasī and not of Śrāvastī.
10. Viṣnu. IV. 22. 9 , Śiva, II. Sec. 5.39.40.

100. Raṇaka[1] or Kuṇḍaka[2] or Kulaka[3]
101. Suratha
102. Sumitra

Sumitra has been unanimously said by the Purāṇas to have been the last[4] of the family of Brihadbala of Śrāvastī and with him ended[5] the solar line of the Kośalan kings. The kingdom of Śrāvastī thereafter formed a part of the Magadhan empire under the Nandas.

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1. Bhāg. IX.12.15 ; Śiva, Pt II. Sec. 5.39.41.
2 Viṣ. IV. 22.9.
3. Mat. 270. 13 , DKA P. 67
4. सुमित्रस्तत्सुतो भावि वंशनिष्ठान्त एवहि Śiva II Sec. 5 39.41.
सुमित्रो नामनिष्ठान्त एते बार्हद्बलान्वया: Bhāg IX. 12 15.
तत्पुत्र सुमित्र: । इत्येते चेतेक्ष्वाको बृहद्बलान्वया: Viṣ. IV.22 10-11.
ऐतै चैक्ष्वाकव: प्रोक्ता भविष्या ये कलौ युगे ।
बृहद्बलान्वये तु भविष्या: कुलवर्धना: ।। Mat. 270 14-15.
5. इक्ष्वाकुणामयं वश: सुमित्रान्तो भविष्याति ।
Bhāg. IX. 12.16, Mat. 270.16 , Vis IV. 22.13 , Śiva, II Sec. 5 39.42, DKA P. 67.

CHAPTER IV

THE RISE & GROWTH OF THE KOŚALAN POWER

The Rise of the Aiṣkvākus And Their Early Expansion

The Purāṇas trace the origin of the various early dynasties of India to Manu Vaivasvata, the mythical hero. He is regarded as the founder of the solar dynasties of India. Of his nine sons[1] and one daughter, Ilā, Ikṣvāku was the eldest.

Foundation of the dynasty

Manu is known to the Indian tradition as the master of the whole of the earth, i. e., of India of his time. It is said that he divided his dominions into ten portions[3] between his nine sons and one daughter, Ilā. Ilā, we are informed, had a double personality of both a woman and a man, named

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1 Bḍ III. 60 2-3, Br. 7.1-2, Km. I. 20.4-6; Vāyu 85 3-4; HV. I 10 1-2, Lg. I. 65 17-19, Ag 272 5-7; Viṣ IV 1 7; Mbh I 75.15-16, Bhāg IX. I 11-12; Mat. 11.40-1; Pad. V. 8 75-76.

2. Mat 11 47; Br. 7 6, Ag. 272 7; HV I. 10.7. In some Purānas, e g, Mat. 11 40-41; Pad. V. 8 75ff It is said that Ilā was the eldest of Manu's sons, who became a woman all of a sudden once, as he went to the Śaravana forest of god Sambhu, where it was enjoined (cursed) by Pārvatī that man would be changed into a woman, if he attemted to tread there

The Saura Purāna (30.32) wrongly says that Manu had three daughters In fact it was Svāyambhuva Manu, who had three daughters from the half female form of his body, Śatarūpā.

3. दशधा तत्र तत्क्षेत्रमकरोत्पृथिवीं मनुः ।
इक्ष्वाकुर्ज्येष्ठ दायादो मध्यदेशमवाप्तवान् ॥
Br. 7 20, Mat 12 19, Śiva II. Sec. 5 36.19-20; HV I. 10 20-21; Pad V 8.124, Vāyu. 85 21, Bḍ III 60.20, Lg. I. 65 28

Sudyumna,[1] by turns. Iksvāku, the eldest, received as his share Madhyadeśa[2] (mid-India), with Ayodhyā as the capital, and became the originator and the eponymous ancestor of the Aikṣvākus.[3] The Purāṇic description that Ikṣvāku was born from the sneeze of Manu[4] might have been invented as a mere device to introduce some supernatural element into the origin of the dynasty and so may be summarily dismissed.

The territories of Ikṣvāku soon extended far and wide. He is said to have had a large number of sons, who carried his banner to distant lands. Their number is sometimes said to have been a hundred,[5] fifty of whom, headed by Śakuni, are said to have been the protectors of the Uttarāpatha, i. e., North India and forty eight others, led by Vasāti, were rulers in the Dakṣiṇāpatha, i e., the Deccan. The most important of his sons, however, were Vikukṣi, Nimi and Daṇḍaka.. Nimi and Daṇḍaka carved out[6] independent kingdoms in the (Videha) and the South (Daṇḍakāraṇya) respectively for themselves Vikukṣi, the eldest, was named Śaśāda[7] as well. Though Iksvāku had forsaken him as a result of anger, it is

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1. Mat 12 16 . Pad V 8 121 ; HV I 10 15
2. Br 7 20 , Mat. 12 19 , Śiva II Sec 5.36 19-20 , HV I 10 20-21 , Pad. V. 8 124 , Vāyu 85 21 , Bd III. 60 20 , Lg I 65 38
3. Refer for the history of the other sons of Manu to Pargiter's AIHT. PP. 255ff
4. Viṣ. IV 2 11 ; Br 7 44 , Bhāg IX 6 4 , HV. I 11.12 , Śiva II Sec 5 37.1 , Bd III 63 8
5. Viṣ IV. 2 12-14 , Br 7.45-48 , Bhag IX. 6 4-5 , HV I 12 15 , Śiva. II Sec 5 37 1-2 ; Bd. III. 63 8-11 , Vāyu. 88-8-11 , Mbh. XIII 2 5.
6. Refer to Pargiter's AIHT PP. 84, 95-96, 215, 257-8 and to Padma V. 8-130 and Bhāg IX. 6 4
7. He got the name Śaśāda (Śaśa+Ada) because, being unable to check his hunger in the forest, where he had been sent by his father, Ikṣvāku, to bring some sacrificial flesh, he had eaten a hare out of his hunt On account of this unbecoming action on his part, we are informed, he was forsaken by his father. Refer to Bhāg IX 6 6 11 ; Viṣ IV. 2.15-18 , HV. I. 11.16-18 ; Bd III 63 12-20 ; Br 7 48-51.

certain that in the event of his father's (Ikṣvāku's) death, Vikukṣi succeeded him at Ayodhyā.[1]

Migrations to the North

Vikukṣi, according to some Purāṇas,[2] had fifteen sons, who were masters over territories north of Meru and a hundred and fourteen others, who ruled south of Meru. This description seems to suggest that a section of the Aryans from northern India migrated to the regions near Meru or Pamira and colonized those areas. It seems to have been perfectly possible, as we know from parallel instances that still far and wider migrations and colonizations took place in ancient times. Vikukṣi was succeeded in his paternal possessions by his eldest son Parañjaya[3] or Purañjaya The latter was better known as Kakutstha,[4] because having seated himself on the shoulders of Indra, it is said,[5] he was instrumental in gaining a victory for the gods over their enemies, the Asuras and Daityas His name Purañjaya or Parañjaya suggests that he conquered many cities and enemies.

The next important king in the solar line of Ayodhyā was Śrāvasta. He seems to have consolidated his vast inheri-

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1. तेषा विकुक्षिर्ज्येष्ठस्तु विकुक्षित्वादयोध्यताम् ।
प्राप्तं परमधर्मज्ञः सोऽयोध्याधिपतिः प्रभुः ॥
Br. 7 45-6, Viṣ. IV. 2 19, Bhāg IX. 6.11, Vāyu 88 20.

2. Mat 12 26-28, Pad V 8 130-3, Lg. I 65 31-2, Km. I. 20.10-11.

3. Viṣ IV. 2.20, Bhāg. IX. 6 12.

4. Pad V. 8.133; Mat 12.28, Br. 7.51; Bhāg IX. 6 12; Bd. III 63 25-26, The grammatical explanation of his name would be ककोस्थितः इति ककुत्स्थः ।

5. Viṣ IV 2.20ff., Bhāg. IX. 6 12ff.

Foundation of Śrāvasti

tance by good government. He founded a new city, Śrāvastī,[1] in the Gauḍa region[2] (modern Sahet Mahet[3] on the boundary of Gonda and Bahraich districts of Uttar Pradesh). It proved to be a prosperous town and a great centre of trade and commerce on the other side of the Sarayū river. We shall see further as to how in a later period the city of Śrāvastī became the capital of a branch line of the solar kings of Kośala under Lava[4] and some of his descendants. Still Later in the Mahājanapada-period of Indian history, it replaced Ayodhyā as the capital of Kośala.

Rajputana colonized

The grandson of Śrāvasta, Kuvalayāśva or Kuvalāśva, is credited with a grand victory over a great demon, named Dhundhu.[5] The latter is said to have created a havoc round the hermitage of sage Uttaṅka or Udaka, situated somewhere in the Rajputana desert.[6] The sage complained to king Bṛihadaśva of Ayodhyā about Dhundhu's depredations, which were accompanied by emitting of smoke, fire, and ashes The king sent his son Kuvalayāśva, who with his twenty one thousand[7] sons—

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1. जज्ञे श्रावस्तको राजा श्रावस्ती येन निर्मिता ॥
Br 7 53 , Bḍ III. 63.28 ; Vāyu 88.27 , Viṣ. IV. 2 37 , Bhāg. IX 6.21 , Pad. V. 8.135 and Mat. 12.30 etc have their own separate readings but they all refer to the city being founded by Śrāvasta

2 निर्मिता येन श्रावस्ती गौडदेशेद्विजोत्तमाः ॥ Mat. 12 20 ;
निर्मिता येन श्रावस्ती गौडदेशे नराधिप ॥ Pad. V. 8.135.

3 JRAS. 1909. PP. 1066ff.

4. See Chapters II and V.

5. Vāyu. 88 29ff , Viṣnu IV. 2 39ff , Br. 7 56ff , Bḍ. III 63-30ff. etc Refer also to Mbh. III Chs 201-3

6 HICP , 'The Vedic Age'. P. 275

7 The Br Purāna (7 74) says that Kuvalāśva was accompanied by only a hundred sons, with which the HV I 11.44 agrees.

evidently the number of his army, proceeded to dig out the subterranean retreat of that Rākṣasa. But after a week of operations he had to face the destruction of his army—his so-called sons. We are told that only three of that great host could survive the vast gust of fire, which Dhundhu emitted from his mouth. Fortunately enough for Kuvalayāśva, however, a stream gushed out of the body of Dhundhu himself, which at once proved to be the end of his fiery-home as well as his body. The prince thus became his killer, and was styled Dhundhumāra.

The story may not be literally true, indeed. We may, however, take note of the various suggestions made with regard to its interpretation Mr. Pargiter thought that the abode of Dhundhu, as referred to in the Purāṇas, might have been 'the southern part of the Rajputana desert', which 'was still a very shallow sea in those times'[1]. Dr. A. D. Pusalker, although he calls the story 'wild'[2], seems to have accepted[3] Pargiter's idea and rightly felt that through Kuvalayāśva, the Dhundhumāra, the Aryan culture spread over the western and southern parts of the Rajputana, till then inhabited by the Asuras, the Daityas, and the Rākṣasas, which may be accepted as indicative of half-civilized tribes. The sage Uttaṅka seems to have been the torchbearer of that cultural movement. This much at least is certain that the operations claimed immense cost, since we are informed[4] that only three sons of Kuvalāśva, viz. Dṛiḍhāśva, Kapilāśva, and Chandrāśva, emerged alive and safe from the fiery valour

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1. AIHT. PP. 260-1.
2 HCIP., 'The Vedic Age'. P. 275.
3. Ibid. P. 275.
4. दृढ़ाश्वचन्द्राश्व कपिलाश्वश्च त्रयः केवलं शेषिताः ॥
Viṣ. IV. 2 42, See also Śiva, II Sec. 5 37 33 and Bhāg. IX. 6 23. It may be noted in this connection that some Purāṇas wrongly change 'Śeṣāḥ or Śeṣitāḥ' into 'Śiṣṭāḥ', e. g., Vāyu, 88.61 ; HV. I. 12 1 ; Br. 7.87.

of those tribes. Dr. B. C. Law's interpretation[1] of this account that the subterranean abode of Dhundhu represents nothing but a volcanic pit emitting out fire and smoke, which was extinguished by a suddenly rushing stream of water from nearby, does not appear to have any basis. It wholly neglects the human part of the episode. It may, therefore, be rejected.

The age of Māndhāta : the first Chakravartin

Yuvanāśva II

Yuvanāśva II is proclaimed by the Purānas to have been a great king[2] and an extremely religious-minded person.[3] It has to be borne in mind here that he was the first Kośalan king, for whom the adjective 'great' is applied. It thoroughly proves his eminence. But, as is often the case with great men, his fame and glory seem to have been to some extent eclipsed by the greater glory and splendour of his more renowned son and successor, Māndhātā. We are told, however, that Yuvanāśva II was extremely religious-minded[4] and the inference might be drawn that he must have performed some great sacrifices, which were the most religious acts of his time.

We are told nothing by the Purāṇas about any of those sacrifices except one, the 'Aindra Isṭi', which he performed on the advice of the Ṛiṣis to get a son. Yet there is not a complete lack of information on that point. The Mahābhārata says[5] that Yuvanāśva, the foremost of those who upheld

1. Tribes In Ant. India, P. 121.
2. तस्य पुत्रोमहानासीद्युवनाश्वोनराधिप । Br. 7.12, HV. I. 12 6
3. युवनाश्वः सुतस्तस्य त्रिषुलोकेष्वतिद्युतिः ।
   अत्यन्त धार्मिको गौरी तस्य पत्नी पतिव्रता ॥
   Vāyu. 88 65, Bḍ III. 63 66-7.
4. Ibid.
5. इक्ष्वाकुवंशप्रभवो युवनाश्वो महीपतिः ।
   सोऽजयत्पृथिवीपालः क्रतुभिर्भूरिदक्षिणैः ॥
   अश्वमेधसहस्रं चप्राथधर्मभृता वरः ।
   अन्यैश्चक्रतुभिर्मुख्यैरजयत्स्वाप्तदक्षिणैः ॥ III. 126 5-6.

and protected religion, sacrificed through a thousand Aśvamedhas and many other important sacrifices, which were accompanied by munificent alms-giving.

We are informed[1] that the sonless and consequently despondent Yuvanāśva II used to live in the forest in the company of Ṛisis. The latter condescended to perform the 'Aindra Iṣṭi',[2] so that he could get a son. One night it so happened that the king got very thirsty and with out informing the sages he drank the very water that had been kept in the sacrificial earthen-pots and was 'Mantrapūta'. When they came to know about it, they said that, as the water was meant to be drunk by his wife for bearing a son and had the power of Mantras, it could not go in vain. Yuvanāśva II conceived in his wife's stead, it is said, and he got a son from his right ribs. When the question arose as to whom the child would suck, Indra offered himself, saying 'Mām Dhātā'[3] and consequently 'Māndhātā' became the name of the boy.

The above account is not found in all the Purānas, and while accepting that Yuvanāśva II performed a sacrifice for having a son—the custom was quite prevalent in ancient India, the latter part of the story may be rejected as a late Purānic device for putting forward an explanation for the name, Māndhātā. Some Purānas[4] inform us that he was the son of Yuvanāśva II from his wife Gaurī, 'the daughter

1. Viṣ IV. 2 49ff , Bhāg IX. 6.25ff., Mbh. III 126.7ff. ; and XII. 29 81ff., VII. 62 2ff.

2. The Km. (I. 20) names the sacrifice as Vāruni Isti.

3. कं धास्यति कुमारोऽयं स्तन्यं रोरुयते भृशम् ।
मा धाता वत्समारोदीरिदीन्द्रो दोशिनीमदात् ।। Bhāg IX. 6.31.

4. Bḍ III 63.67-68 and Vāyu 88 65-67 say —
अत्यन्तधार्मिको गौरी तस्यपत्नी पतिव्रता ।
अभिशप्ता तु सा भर्त्रा नदी सा बाहुदाकृता ।।
तस्यास्तुगौरिकः पुत्रश्चक्रवर्ती बभूव ह ।
मान्धाता यौवनाश्वो वै त्रैलोक्यविजयी नृपः ।।

of Matināra of the Pauravas'.[1] That is why he was called Gaurika. Besides, he was also known by his patronymic, Yauvanāśva. This version of his name looks human and natural and it may be accepted.

The solar kingdom of Ayodhyā possessed the potentialities of an imperial power and Māndhātā fully utilised them. Its position in the Madhyadeśa, i e., the middle portion of the country, must have been highly instrumental in its easy sweep towards the west and the south. It lay securely protected by the great Himālaya on the north and derived the advantage of having friendly peoples in the east, particulary the Videhas, who were bound to the Aikṣvākus by the ties of blood. The kingdom of Mithilā was also a solar-race kingdom through Nimi, one of the sons of Aikṣvāku. In the beginning, however, the Aikṣvākus must have been engaged in clearing their own territory of its jungles and wild beasts and in making it in so many other ways a proper habitat for culture and civilization. It seems that they were checked in their progress by the powerful successors of Purūravas at Pratisthāna in the South and the lunar race kingdom of Kānyakubja in the West.[2]

Māndhātā

Māndhātā, however, knew no limitations He was easily the first Chakravartin of the solar kingdom of Ayodhyā. He extended not only its power, prestige, and supremacy over a large part of India by extensive conquests but very probably stretched its territories also that were directly administered from Ayodhyā. He is described by the Purāṇas[3] and

1 Cf A D Pusalker, HCIP. 'The Vedic Age', PP. 275 279, Pargiter, AIHT. P. 150

2. Cf Pargiter, Op. cit. PP. 258-9

3. मान्धाता यौवनाश्वो वै त्रैलोक्यविजयीनृपः ।
Bḍ III. 63.68 ; Vāyu 88 67 ; Br 7.92 , HV. I. 12 6. The Śiva Purāna (Pt. II. Sec. 5 37.44) reads—
मान्धाता युवनाश्वस्य त्रिषुलोकेषु विश्रुतः ।।

the Mahābhārata[1] to have been a Trailokyavijayī and is said to have occupied the half-throne of Indra himself.[2] The kings, whom he conquered, are enumerated in the Mahābhārata[3] as Aṅgāra, Marutta, Asita, Gaya, Aṅga, and Vṛhadratha or, in another reference[4], as Janmejaya, Sudhanvā, Gaya, Puru, Vṛhadratha, Asita, and Nṛga. It is difficult to identify all these kings. "The names are uncertain, Gaya might be the king on the Payoṣṇi,[5] Angāra seems to have been the Druhyu king, who was also known as Aruddha and with whom Māndhātā had a long war."[6] He is also said to have won the whole of the earth in a single day.[7] This is a patently hyperbolic statement, specially in relation to the time (only one day), which it allots for the wide conquests. This is certain, however, that his conquests were quite extensive, which find mention in the Purānas,[8] the Mahābhārata[9],

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1 III. 136 2 and 35 , VII 62.1 , XII 29.82.

2. शक्रस्यार्धासनं राजल्लब्धवानमितद्युतिः ||
Mbh. III 126 38 , Refer also to VR. VII. 67 8.

3 यश्चाङ्गारंतुनृपति मरुत्तमसित गयम् ।
अङ्ग वृहद्रथ चैव मान्धाता समरेऽजयत् || XIII. 29 88.

4. धर्मात्मा धृतिमान्वीरः सत्यसंधोजितेन्द्रियः ।
जनमेजयं सुधन्वानं गयं पुरुं वृहद्रथम् || Mbh. VII.10.

5 Pargiter, AIHT. P. 261. note 7

6. Cf A.D. Pusalker, HCIP 'The Vedic Age', P. 279; Refer also to Vāyu 99.7-8 ; Bḍ. III, 74 7-8. Bhāg IX. 23.15 ; Mat 48 6 ; HV. I 32 3 , Br. 13 149-150.

7 इमां च पृथिवीं कृत्स्नामेकाह्ना स व्यजीजयत् ।
Mbh VII 62 9 , Refer also to Mbh. XII. 87

8. अत्राप्युदाहरन्तीमौ श्लोकौ पौराणिका द्विजाः ।
यावत्सूर्य उदयति यावच्चप्रतितिष्ठति ।।
सर्वं तद्यौवनाश्वस्य मधातुर्क्षेत्रमुच्यते ।
Vāyu 88 67-8; Viṣ. IV. 2 65, Bhāg. IX. 6.37; Bḍ. III 63 69-70.

9. VII. 62 11-2, XII. Ch. 90.

and the Mandhātu Jātaka of the Pāli canon.[1] There we are told that his empire extended from where the sun rises to where it sets - very likely from the east coast of India to the west coast. In the Ṛigveda[2] Māndhātā is hailed as a Dasyuhantā, a description, which finds almost verbatim support from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa.[3] In the course of his victorious march towards the north-west he performed a sacrifice on the bank of the river Yamunā,[4] which suggests his victory over the Pauravas after overrunning the Kānyakubja Kingdom[5] He also made a sacrificial offering on the site of the famous Kurukṣetra,[6] which would have been possible only after the subjugation of the Druhyu and the Anava lands He is said to have killed the Gāndhāra King[7] as well. Māndhātā, the ruler over the seven Dvīpas, thus, is known as a real chakra-

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1. The verse is almost exactly found there in the form of a Gāthā as in the sanskrit texts It runs as follows —
   यावता चन्दिमा सूरिया दिसा भन्ति विसेचना ।
   सब्बे बादासा मधातु येपाणा पढविनिस्सिता ।।
   Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed) Vol II P 311

2. यो अग्नि सप्तमानुपः श्रितोविश्वेषु सिन्धुषु ।
   तमागन्म त्रिपस्त्य मधातुर्दस्युहन्तममग्नि यज्ञेषुपूर्वं नभन्तामन्यके समे ।
   Ṛig VIII 39 8

3. त्रसदस्युरितीन्द्रोऽगं विदधे नाम तस्य वै ।
   यस्मात् त्रसन्ति ह्युद्विग्ना दस्यवो रावणादयः ।। IX 6.33

4. Mbh. III 125 25-6; The reference (VR VII. 67 21) that Lavaṇa, the Yādava king of Mathurā, killed Māndhātā is hardly believable. More than that, it is anachronistic and so carries little weight.

5. Cf. Pargiter, AIHT. P. 261.

6. तस्यैतद्देवयजनं स्थानमादित्यवर्चसः ।
   यस्यपुण्यतमेदेशे कुरुक्षेत्रस्य मध्यतः ।। Mbh. III. 126.45.

7. Mbh. III. 126-43

vartin[1] both to the Brahmanical as well as the Buddhist works.

Māndhātā was fortified by strong diplomatic alliances through ties of marriages The most important was the marriage of his father, Yuvanāśva, with Gaurī, the daughter of king Matināra[2] of Pratiṣṭhāna. The second was his own marriage with Bindumatī,[3] the daughter of Śaśabindu, the son of Chitraratha of the famous and powerful Yādava line of the south-west Rajputana and Gujrat. These relations must have freed Māndhātā of any worry, whatsoever, from two sides, the south and the south-west, and helped him to direct his victorious arms towards the north and north-west, in which, as we have seen above, he was eminently successful. The advantages to the Yādavas and Pauravas, however, must have been greater, since through those marriages they got immunity from attacks from that great Aikṣvāku king of Ayodhyā.

There is yet another description about the marriage of Māndhātā's fifty daughters to the sage, Saubharī. The story is found in four Purāṇas[4] —Viṣṇu, Bhāgavata, Padma, and Garuḍa. We are informed that sage Saubharī, while doing a twelve-year penance in the waters of river Yamunā, was so much attracted by the family-life of a fish, which always remained engaged in playful sport with its progenies, that he

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1. यौवनाश्वोऽथमान्धाता चक्रवर्त्यवनीं प्रभुः ॥
   Bhāg. IX. 6.34 , Viṣ IV. 2 63 , Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed) Vol II PP. 311ff In another reference (Sumangalavilāsini, PTS II. P 482) we are informed that Māndhātā brought all the four continents under his possession and the people from other three continents also came to his realm, the Jambūdvīpa
2. Cf A D. Pusalker, HCIP. 'The Vedic Age', PP. 275 and 279.
3. Vāyu 88. 70-1 ; HV. I. 12 7 , Br. 7.92.4 ; Bḍ III 63. 70-1 , Viṣ IV 2. 66 ; Bhāg IX. 6 38 ; Śiva. II. sec. 5 37 45.
4. Viṣ. IV. 2.69ff., Bhāg. IX. 38.55 ; Padma VI. 16 33-82 , Garuḍa I. 138 23.

decided to create a family for himself again. He proceeded to the court of Māndhātā and asked for the hand of one of his daughters. The king was aghast at the request of the sage, who was well advanced in years. But he lacked the courage to give a negative answer and pretended that it was a custom of his family that the maidens themselves chose (Svayamvara) their husbands in an open way. The sage agreed and by his supernatural powers got himself chosen not by one alone but all the fifty daughters of that great sovereign and consequently they were all given in marriage to him.

The account ultimately ends in the Purāṇas with a moral about the worthlessness of worldly-life, which alone seems to be its end. As far as its historicity is concerned, it is not improbable that the sage received either one or more than one daughter of Māndhātā in marriage. Mr. Sashi Bhushan Chaudhury, who traces[1] the story in some Vedic works as well, says, "The Visnu Purāṇa has preserved an Itihāsa, which though it has been mingled up with another story, though the name Māndhātā has been substituted for that of Trasadasyu and though the story has also been slightly Brahmanised, yet the story is probably the relic of the same story that was current in the Vedic times." The one real difference in the Vedic and Purānic accounts, however, lies in the fact that in the former[2] it is Trasadasyu, the grandson of Māndhātā, who has been named as giving his fifty daughters in marriage to the sage, Saubharī, while in the latter Māndhātā is put in that place. We have already seen how the Ṛgveda

1. Jour Ind. Hist VIII P 7ff.

2. अदान्मेपौरुकुत्स्य पञ्चाशतं त्रसदस्युर्वधूनाम् ॥ Ṛig. VIII. 19.36. Mr Chaudhury (Op cit) is of the opinion that the same story is found in the Vrihaddevatā (Ch. VI) and the Śānkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra (XVI. 1) as well as Āśvalāyana Sūtra (X. 7). In the Sūtras, the story is called an Itihāsa and is named as 'Matsya Sammāda'

calls Māndhātā a Dasyuhantā[1] and the Bhāgavata Purāṇa styles him Trasadasyu.[2] Is it a fact then that this Trasadasyu of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa has been confused in the Rigveda with the son of Purukutsa, the son of Māndhātā ? It does not seem to be improbable.

Māndhātā was a great sacrificer,[3] which looks quite natural, when his glorious reign of wide conquests is taken into accouut. He is credited in the Mahābhārata to have performed a hundred Rājasūyas[4] and various other types of sacrifices,[5] in which the Brāhmanas got gifts of cows, gold, and fish. As a matter of fact he is remembered in the Ṛigveda principally as a sacrificer and an alms-giver to the extent of being a Risi, as great and good as Aṅgirasa.[6]

Successors of Māndhātā

Purukutsa, the son of Māndhātā continued his policy of conquest. He married Narmadā,[7] the nāga princess. It points to the extension of his power towards the south in the vicinity of the river Narmadā. The Nāgas employed him in exterminating their troublesome enemies, the Mauneya Gandharvas[8] of the Rasātala. The Rasātala may be understood to denote some regions of the South.

Muchukunda, the youngest brother of Purukutsa, seems to have consolidated the expansion of Aryan culture in the Deccan through the foundation of a town[9] on the river

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1. VIII 39.8
2. IX 6 33.
3. Bhāg IX 6 35.
4 अश्वमेघशतेनेष्ट्वा राजसूयशतेन च ।
   अददद्रोहितान्मत्स्यान्ब्राह्मणेभ्यो विशाम्पते ॥ XII.29 91
5. Mbh III 126 37.
6. Ṛig VIII. 40 12.
7. Viṣ. IV. 3.7 and 16.
8 Viṣ. IV. 3 3-15.
9. Cf. Pargiter's AIHT. P. 262 ; A. D. Pusalker, HCIP. 'The Vedic Age', P. 278.

Narmadā between the two hilly ranges, the Pāripātra and the Ṛiksa. The city was named Māhismatī but it could not retain its independent status and nature of an outpost of the Aiksvākus of Ayodhyā in the Deccan for long and soon passed under the new emerging power of the Haihayas.[1]

The Haihaya interlude

The Post-Purukutsa period of Kośalan history was politically a period of weakness and comparative eclipse. Not until the next Aiksvāku Chakravartin, Sagara, appears on the political stage of India and begins to command respect and homage at the hands of his contemporaries the monotony of Kośalan insignificance is relieved. The most important factor of the age was the emergence of the powerful Haihaya power and its supremacy in the Deccan which initiated with the reign of the famous Kritavīrya and his son Arjuna. The rulers of Ayodhyā comparatively grew to be non-entities.

Comparative weakness of Kośala

The decline of Ayodhyā is proved by the fact that the Kānyakubja kingdom to its west, which had been overrun by Māndhātā in his victorious march towards the north-west, reasserted its supremacy in the days of king Jahnu[2] He married a daughter of Māndhātā[3] and after him the great Gangā was renamed as Jāhnavī.[4] Anaraṇya, the great grandson of Purukutsa, was killed[5] by one Rāvana, very porbably some king of the Deccan.

1 Ibid

2 Cf Pargiter, AIHT P. 263.

3 Vāyu 91 58-9 ; Bd III 66.28-9 , Br 10 19-20 , 13 87

4. Vāyu 91 54-8 , Bḍ III. 66 25-28 , Br 10 15-19 , Bhāg IX. 15 3 etc

5 सम्भूतस्यात्मजः पुत्रो ह्यनरण्यः प्रतापवान् ।
रावणेनहतो येन त्रैलोक्य विजितं पुरा ॥
Bḍ III. 63 74 , Visnu IV. 3 17 ; Lg. I 65.44 , Vāyu 88.75 ; VR. (VI 60 8-10) identities this Rāvaṇa with that, who was killed by Rāma. This is evidently an anachronism

The greatest onslaught on Kośalan power and prestige in this period was made by the Haihaya-Tālajaṅghas of South Malwa and the Deccan. In course of time they overran not only Ayodhyā but the whole of north India and like the Marathas of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries they became a regular terror. Their first victim was the Bhṛigu family of the Brāhmaṇas, who had to flee from the western coast of India to Kānyakubja in the Madhyadeśa for safety.[1] Then a bitter fight followed between the Bhārgavas led by Paraśurāma Jāmadagnya on one side and Arjuna Kārtavīrya and his descendants on the other.[2] The Haihayas, however, occupied the Kāśī kingdom under the leadership of Bhadraśrenya[3] and made it their outpost to pillage the north.[4] The Bhārgavas in their attempt to root out the Haihayas formed marital alliances with the ruling dynasties of Ayodhyā and Kānyakubja. Richīka married Satyavatī,[5] the daughter of the Kānyakubja king, named Gādhi. Jamadagni was born of that marriage, became a celebrated sage, learnt the art of archery, and married Kamalī or Kāmalī Reṇukā, the daughter of king Renu[6] of the Iksvāku line. Renu cannot be successfully identified. Unless Reṇu be another name for Triśaṅku or Hariśchandra, he would be deemed to have been probably some collateral prince. From this marriage the famous Rāma Jāmadagnya, also called Paraśurāma, was born.[7] He proved to be the chief figure and embodiment of north-Indian

The Haihayas vs. Bhārgavas

1. Mbh. I. Chs 178-180 and XIII Ch. 56 ; Pad. VI. 268.21.
2. Mbh. XII 49 35ff.
3. Vāyu 94.6 ; Bḍ. III. 69 6 ; Mat. 43.11 ; Pad. V. 12.114.
4. Cf. Pargiter, AIHT. P. 263.
5. Bḍ. III. 66 37 ; Br. 10.29 ; Viṣ. IV. 7.13 ; Mbh. 49.7 ; Bhāg. IX. 15.5 ; VR. I. 34.7.
6 Br. 10.50-51 ; Bḍ. III. 66 60-1 , Viṣ. IV. 7.35 ; Bhāg. IX. 15. 12 ; Pad. VI. 268.8 ; Mbh. (III. 116.2) names the father of Renukā as Prasenajita.
7. Br. 10.52-53 ; Viṣ. IV. 7.36 ; Bḍ. III. 66.62-3 ; Mbh. XII. 49.31-2.

resistance against the challenge of the Haihaya-Tālajaṅgha combination from the south.

Paraśurāma

Paraśurāma led many compaigns against his enemies from the south and the tradition says that he was so much incensed against their repeated attacks that he took a vow not only to exterminate them alone but all the Ksatriyas[1] from the face of the earth. His vendetta took the form of regular campaigns, numbering as many as twenty one,[2] against them. It has to be noted here that this tradition suffers from serious limitations for the Mahābhārata informs[3] that many Kṣatriyas, including the Haihayas, were saved from his wrath. The list of the kings, who escaped that destruction, however, is very haphazard and suffers from chronological defects. Sarvakarmā of Ayodhyā, who is enumerated[4] as one of those Kṣatriya kings, who remained to continue their dynasties, came quite later. Sagara, who fed fat the ancient grudge of his family against the Haihayas and was protected and educated by one of the descendants of Paraśurāma, Aurva Bhārgava,[5] for that

1. Refer to Viṣ IV 7.36 ; Bḍ III. 66 63 , Br. 10 53 , Mbh XII. 49 32 and 54.
2. Mbh XII. 49 64 ; Bhāg. IX 15 14 and 30 and 16 19 , Agni 4.12ff ; Pad VI. 268 56ff. , Br 213 114 ff.
3. XII 49 75-86 ; The Padma Purāna (VI 268 73-5) says that Paraśurāma exterminated all the Kṣatriya families except only one, i e , of Ayodhyā, which was left for the consideration that the Kṣatriyas of Ayodhyā were his own relations. However, the king of Ayodhyā also was dethroned. The verses run as follows .—

   जघान् भार्गवः क्रुद्धो नागानिव खगेश्वरः ।
   निःक्षत्रं कृतवान्सर्वं जामदग्न्यः प्रतापवान् ॥
   ररक्ष भगवानेकमिक्ष्वाकोः सुमहत्कुलम् ।
   मातामहस्यान्वयत्वाद्रेणुकावचनात्तथा ॥
   तान्भ्रष्टान्राज्यान्कृत्वा वै मातामहकुलोद्भवान् ।
   नहत्वामनुवंश्यास्तान्रामो नृपकुलान्तकः ॥
4. Mbh. XII. 49.77-8.
5. Cf. Br. 8.33-42 ; Viṣ. IV. 3 27-37 ; Bḍ. III. 63.121-5 ; HV. I. 13.32 to 14.10 ; Vāyu. 88.123-135 ; Śiva. II. Sec. 5.38 23-39.

very purpose, is omitted in that list. Thus it is clear, the descriptions in this reference cannot be accepted as correct from the chronological point of view.

The account of Paraśurāma's conquests and his so-called annihilation of Ksatriyas seems to have been interwoven in some of the Purānas and the epic, Mahābhārata, at quite a late period by some over-zealous person possessing a false sense of Brāhmana superiority over the Ksatriyas and knowing little about real history. But like many others this unfounded tradition became so much rooted in Indian thought and mind that gradually Paraśurāma was made in some passages an incarnation of Visnu,[1] having sprung from his body. He was made immortal and many other anachronistic stories[2] about his life and deeds sprang up.

Dr. A. D Pusalker is right[3] in concluding that fortified by the strength of the matrimonial alliances of the Bhārgavas with the ruling families of Kānyakubja and Ayodhyā and also of the growing discontent due to the devastating raids and consequent unpopularity of the Haihayas, Rāma was able to organize a confederacy of various kingdoms including Vaiśālī, Videha, Kāśī, Kānyakubja, and Ayodhyā, which fought the Haihayas on various battlefields. As a matter of fact, the struggle was between two sides of the Kṣatriyas themselves, the Haihaya—Tālajaṅgha combination from the south and the kingdoms of Ayodhyā and Kānyakubja etc. from the north. The Bhārgavas, of whom Paraśurāma was the greatest, inhabited the territories of the northern kingdoms and were not only connected with royal families through marital ties but also seem to have had spiritual and religious bonds with them. They could not remain passive onlookers of that struggle, specially, when they had themselves been a prey to Haihaya depredations. It is

1. Viṣ IV. 7 36; Mbh. XII. 339.84 and 104; Bhāg. IX. 15.14.14; 16.25-28.
2. Cf. A. D Pusalker, Op. Cit. P. 281; Pargiter, AIHT. P. 200.
3. Op. Cit. P. 281.

certain, Paraśurāma fought the battles of the northern Kṣatriyas against those of the south.

As far as the kingdom of Ayodhyā was concerned, we are told that the Haihaya sovereign, Arjuna Kārtavīrya, burnt the hermitage of Āpava Vasiṣṭha[1] in one of his raids towards the north. The Vasiṣṭhas were the family priests and teachers of the solar kings of Ayodhyā and consequently the latter must not have remained unmoved. But they seem to have been powerless enough to have done anything substantial to avenge that outrage. Hariśchandra, though described as a Samrāṭa and the performer of a Rājasūya,[2] was more engrossed in religion and love for truth than given to the eradication of his political problems.

The solar kings of Ayodhyā are described in the Purānas[3] to have been made the objects of severe attacks from the Haihaya-Tālajaṅghas. The latter were in collusion with the hardy and semi-civilised tribes from the north-west of India, the Śakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas and Pahlavas.[4] Bāhu, the

1. सशून्यमाश्रमं रम्यमापवस्य महात्मनः ।
   ददाहपवनेनेद्धश्चित्रभानुः सहैहयः ॥ Mbh. XII. 49.41.
2. सवैराजाहरिश्चन्द्रस्त्रैशङ्कवइतिस्मृतः ।
   आहर्त्ता राजसूयस्य सम्राडिति ह विश्रुतः ॥
   Br 8.25 ; Bḍ III. 63.116. Mr. Eggeling (SBE XLIV. P XV) did not believe the Rājasūya to be essentially a symbol of royal paramountsy and in his opinion it was 'a state ceremonial to which any petty ruler might fairly think himself entitled.
3. Bḍ. III. 63 120-141 ; Br. 8.29-51 ; Vāyu. 88.122-143 ; HV. I. 13.30 to 14.20 ; Viṣ. IV. 3 26-49 ; Pad. VI. 21.12-34 ; Bhāg. IX. 8.2-7 ; VR I 70.28-73.
4. Such an early reference to those foreign (except Kāmbojas) people is certainly anachronistic. It seems the later Paurāṇikas had not been able to name the original people of the north-west, who fought against the Mid-Indian rulers and put in their places the Śakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas and the Pahlavas, who came later in their own (Paurāṇika's) days. It is not unlikely that India might have known their existence in their own lands but to put them in the north-west of India so early is evidently wrong.

father of Sagara proved to be the most pathetic symbol of that weakness and imbecility. Though he was a religious and dutiful king in the beginning and had also performed as many as seventy Aśvamedhas, yet on account of an ego he later developed into a tyrant and debauch and began to be disliked by his subjects. The Haihayas seem to have availed themselves of his unpopularity, attacked him, and turned him out of the kingdom. His subjects were so glad over the event that they thought some enemy had fallen.[1] Having suffered the ignominy of defeat and turned out of his kingdom by his enemies,[2] the poor fellow entered the forest with his pregnant queen in order to save her[3] as well as himself. The fortunes of the kingdom of Ayodhyā could not be retrieved until his son, Sagara, came on the scene, of whom more shall be spoken later.

Vasiṣtha vs. Viśvāmitra

The Haihaya interlude was punctuated by the quarrel between Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣtha. Gādhi's son Viśvaratha

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1 आसीद्रविकुले प्राज्ञो बाहुर्नाम वृकात्मजः ।
बुभुजे पृथिवीं सर्वां धर्मतोधर्मतत्परः ॥
... ...
इयाज सोऽश्वमेधेन सप्तद्वीपेषुसप्ततिम् ।
अतर्पयत्सुरान्सर्वान् गेहेमाल्यादिभिर्द्विजाः ॥
... ...
एकदा तस्य राजस्य सर्वसम्पद्विनाशकृत् ।
अहङ्कारो महान्जज्ञे सासूयोलोमहेतुकः ॥
... ...
यदाबाहुर्वनं यातस्तदातद्राष्ट्रगा जनाः ।
संतोषं परम याताः स्वरिपौनिहतेयथा ॥
Vrihannāradiyapurāṇa (Ed. Hṛiṣikeśa Śāstri, Cal. 1891) Ch. 7. Vss. 7,9,15, and 52.

2. Vāyu 88.122 ; Bḍ. III. 63.120 ; Br. 8 35.

3. ततोवृकस्य बाहुर्योऽस्मौहैहयैस्तालजंधादिभिः ।
पराजितोऽन्तर्वत्न्या महिष्या सह वनं प्रविवेश ॥ Viṣ. IV. 3.26.

was the king of Kānyakubja, but having a desire to become a Brahmarṣi he gave up his kingdom, practised severe penance, and took a new name, Viśvāmitra.[1] He claimed Brāhmanahood for himself but his new status was contested by Vasiṣtha, named Devarāja, his old enemy and the family priest of the Kośalan kings of Ayodhyā. Getting angry with Vasistha, Viśvāmitra thought of wreaking vengeance on him (Vasistha) and waited for an opportunity.

The cause of their quarrel

The opportunity offered itself to him, when Satyavrata (Triśaṅku) was banished by his father Trayyāruna on account of his unrighteous deeds.[2] It is said[3] that on being asked by the son as to where to go, his father Trayyāruṇa ordered him to live with the Chāndālas. The family priest, Vasistha did not help Triśanku, since he was also dissatisfied with his conduct. Triśanku began to live in a forest and in the meantime there was a drought and consequently a severe famine lasting twelve years. Viśvāmitra, while going to practise penance, had left his family in the region, where Triśanku was spending his exile. His wife had to sell her middle son in order to feed the rest of her kin. Satyavrata, however, seized upon the opportunity and tried to gain Viśvāmitra's favour by getting free his sold son and proceeded to save the sage's

1. Cf Pargiter, AIHT PP 151 and 205-6 According to the Rāmāyana (I. Chs 51ff) the cause of the quarrel was the desire on the part of Viśvāmitra to forcibly take away the wish-fulfilling cow (Kāmadhenu) of Vasistha. See also Mbh I. Ch 175 and IX Ch 40.

2 तमधर्मेण सयुक्तं पिता त्र्यारुणोऽत्यजत् ।
अपध्वसेति बहुशो वदत्क्रोधसमन्वितः ॥
Vāyu. 88 81, Bḍ. III 63 79; Br. 7.100; HV. I. 12.14.

3 The account given above is mainly from the Vāyu Purāna (88 78-116) but it is found in other Purānas as well, e.g., Bḍ. III 63. 77-114; Br 7.97 to 8 23; Hv. I. 12 12 to 13.23; Śiva II. Sec 5 37 48 to 38 12; Lg. I. 66.3-10; Viṣ. IV. 3.21-24; Bhāg. IX. 7. 5-6.

family. Day in and day out he killed animals - deer, boars and buffaloes, roasted their flesh, and after taking out what he himself required for keeping his body and soul together, gave up the rest for the maintenance of Viśvāmitra's family. He had been generating anger and jealousy against Vasiṣṭha in his exiled life because the latter had not checked his (Satyavrata's) father in his decision to exile him. Though Vasiṣṭha had decided in his mind to enthrone Satyavrata after the death of his father[1] (Trayyāruna), yet, not perceiving his real intentions, the prince used to remain incensed at him and once killed the sage's Kāmadhenu (the wish-giving cow) and fed with her flesh himself and Viśvāmitra's family. This proved intolerable to Vasiṣṭha and there was complete estrangement. Satyavrata was given the appellation, Triśanku, on accouut of his three Śaṅkus (sins)—displeasing the father, killing the cow of the teacher, and adopting a girl as wife without proper consecrations.[2] Vasiṣṭha himself presided over the destiny of the state, the capital Ayodhyā, and the royal family after Trayyāruna's death.[3] The matter finally came to a great head and Viśvāmitra took up cudgels on Satyavrata Triśanku's behalf and forcibly got him enthroned at Ayodhyā-his purpose being twofold, firstly wreaking

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1. ततो वसिष्ठो भगवान्पित्रा त्यक्तं न्यवारयत् ।
   अभिषेक्ष्याम्यहं राज्ये पश्चादेनमितिप्रभुः ॥
   Bḍ III. 63.101 ; Vāyu 88 102 , Br. 8 12.

2. पितुश्चापरितोषेण गुरोर्दोग्ध्रीवधेन च ।
   अप्रोक्षितप्रयोगाच्च त्रिविधस्ते व्यतिक्रमः ॥
   एवं सत्रीणि शंकूनि दृष्ट्वा तस्य महातपाः ।
   त्रिशंकुरितिहोवाच त्रिशंकुस्तेन स स्मृतः ॥
   Vāyu, 88.108-9 , Śiva. II. Sec. 5.38 14-5 ; HV. I. 13.18-19 ; Br. 8 18-9 ; Bḍ. III. 63.107-8.

3. अयोध्यां चैव राज्यं च तथैवान्तरपुरं मुनिः ।
   याज्योपाध्यायसंयोगाद्वसिष्ठः पर्यरक्षत ॥
   Vāyu, 88.94 ; Br. 8.4 ; Bḍ. III. 63 93.

vengeance on Vasiṣtha and secondly the expression of gratitude to Triśaṅku for the service he had rendered to his family.

The Rāmāyaṇa[1] and the Mahābhārata[2] describe only the quarrel between Vasiṣtha and Viśvāmitra and neglect its historical portion revolving on Satyavrata's exile. The Rāmāyaṇa introduces Viśvāmitra as a king of great religious merit, who, while going on a victory tour comes across the hermitage of Vasistha, is given a right royal reception by the latter through the help of his Nandinī, the wish-fulfilling cow, is attracted by that cow, and tries to take it forcibly after his request to Vasiṣtha to part with her is refused. He fails in his object, goes on a severe penance, gets celestial boons, comes back to avenge his defeat, in which he succeeds only partly, and again goes on a penance. The Mahābhārata agrees upto this stage of the narrative of the Rāmāyaṇa but stops short after that. The Rāmāyaṇa, while continuing the acccunt, does not tell the fact of Satyavrata Triśanku's exile. It rather gives another account, in which Triśanku is shown as desiring to go bodily to the heavens. He requests Vasiṣtha to try to get his object fulfilled but is rebuffed. Then he goes to Vasiṣtha's hundred sons and is again rebuffed and cursed. Lastly he takes refuge with Viśvāmitra, who takes up his cause chiefly as an opportunity to avenge the defeat that he had suffered at the hands of Vasiṣtha. He tries to send Triśaṅku bodily to the heavens, which is refused by the gods, and so creates a third Loka for him. Triśaṅku is held there by Viśvāmitra from falling on the earth through his own supernatural powers.

It is clear that the epic descriptions suffer from the introduction of supernatural elements in them. The Purānas, however, though not completely free from that element,[3]

1. VR. I. Chs 51-60.
2. Mbh I. Ch. 175 and IX Ch. 40.
3. The Purānas refer to Viśvāmitra's efforts in sending Triśaṅku bodily to the heavens. See, e. g., Vāyu 88 113-6 ; Śiva II. Sec. 5.38 12 ; Br 8.21-3 ; HV. I 13.23 ; Bhāg. IX. 7.6 ; Viṣ. IV. 3.24 ; Bḍ III. 63.114 etc.

present a historical and a better reading in giving the account of Satyavrata's exile. But it is obvious from all the sources that the two greatest sages of the time, Vasiṣtha and Viśvāmitra, were using the weak kings of Ayodhyā in their own way in order to establish their individual superiority over each other.

Hariśchandra's Persecution

The Vasiṣtha-Viśvāmitra feud continued in the reign of Triśanku's son, Hariśchandra, as well. It seems, after enthroning Triśanku on the throne of Ayodhyā, Viśvāmitra got himself entrenched into the position of the royal Purohita in place of Vasiṣtha and continued for a while in that position in the reign of Hariśchandra also. The latter performed a Rājasūya, in which Viśvāmitra was appointed the 'Yajvā' but Vasiṣtha ultimately got the better of him, and ejected him from that position. Viśvāmitra had to go without his Daksinā of the Sacrifice and this became his sore point against not only Vasiṣtha but Hariśchandra as well, whom he took to be the instrument of his enemy. He waited again for an opportunity, which soon came his way

The narrative in this connection is given[1] in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna in great details. Hariśchandra, it is said, once went ahunting and heard in the forest some feminine shrieks. His sense of duty proved to be more powerful than his mood of recreation and he turned his attention to those shrieks with a view to alleviate the miseries of those, from whose quarters came the call for help. In that process he landed himself into the hermitage of sage Viśvāmitra, who was at once enraged at the king. Hariśchandra, pleading his duty of a ruler to help those, who required any help, asked for mercy and forgiveness from the sage and offered to give in return whatever the latter desired. Viśvāmitra demanded a heavy price and said that the king should part with all his wealth,

1. Ed. by Panchanan Tarkaratna, Calcutta, 1812 Śaka Era, Chs. 7 and 8.

army, treasures, earth, and the kingdom in his (Viśvāmitra's) favour. The king agreed but still the Dakṣiṇā of the Rājasūya that was due from him in the sage's favour remained unpaid. Viśvāmitra put this last demand in the end with the consequence that king was in a great fix and asked for time Bereft of his kingdom, Hariśchandra proceeded to Vārāṇasī, where he was compelled to sell his wife and son to a Brāhmaṇa in order to pay off Viśvāmitra's Dakṣiṇā. But still the sage would not accept it on the ground of its being inadequate So the king offered himself for sale, which a Chāndāla accepted for a paltry sum. The king, thus being shorn of all his power and pelf, his kingdom, and his family, became a slave and was severely tested in his love for truth, sacrifice, and righteousness. The tenseness of the description is finally relieved by an introduction of the supernatural and we are told that the gods being too much pleased by the king's conduct selected Dharma as their leader and presented themselves to him, restored him to the kingdom of Ayodhyā and bodily took him to the heavens [1]

The account, poignant as it is, serves as a mirror to the behaviour of the two Riṣis, the nature and progress of their mutual quarrel as well as the religious and social conditions of the time under discussion. Even though all its details may not be accepted, it provides an interesting reading into India's past.

King Hariśchandra figures in another account also, where Viśvāmitra ultimately becomes one of the Chief actors. We are told[2] that the king, being childless, propitiates god

1 He is referred to in the Mbh. (XII, 20 14) as having won Śakra, i. e , Indra by his sacrifices.

2 It is the story of Śunaḥśepa, which is found in the Ait Brā VII 3 ; SSS XV. 17-27 ; Bṛihaddevatā, III. 103 and Sarvānukramaṇī of Kātyāyana, Ed by A. A. Macdonell P 6, VR (I. Cbs 61-2.) names the king not as Hariśchandra but Ambar ṣi and calls Śunaḥśepa's father by another name, Richīka. These seem to

[Footnoote to be contd. on P. 139]

Varuna, who gives him a son on the promise that the child, as soon as it is born, would be given in sacrifice to him. The king gets a son, Rohita, but on the arrival of Varuna for the sacrifice of the boy, he postpones the evil day on some pretext or the other till the boy, Rohita, comes to know of it and flees away in fear God Varuna becomes angry and curses the king with dropsy Rohita, on hearing the news of his father's disease, decides to return but is prevented by Indra six times. At long last he comes across a sage, Ajīgarta, who faced with the prospect of hunger and death on account of a severe famine, decides to to sell his middle son, Śunahśepa, the elder and younger ones being better-loved by the father and the mother respectively and offers the demanded price of a hundred cows Rohita tells the Ṛṣi of his intention to sacrifice the boy The sage remains not only unmoved but accompanies the prince, who takes Śunahśepa to be sacrificed to Varuna, the latter having no objection to the exchange of his sacrificial victim Śunahśepa's father, Ajīgarta, offers himself to do the various functions at the sacrifice, demanding a hundred cows at each step Śunahśepa, finding no chance of his safety even after his pathetic and prayerful entreaties to the assembled gathering, prays to the various gods including Varuna, who decides to take the sacrifice as complete and lets him go free Viśvāmitra ultimately makes him his son and successor with another name, Devarāta, i. e., given by the gods He seems to have been prompted to that conduct by the sense of enmity that he nurtured against Hariśchandra and his family.

[contd] be mistakes We are informed by the Purānas and the Mbh (Bd III. 66 56 , Br 10 48 , Bhāg. IX.15 11) Mbh. XII. 49 29 ; that Jamadagni was the son of Richīka but in none of the references Śunaḥśepa or any of his brothers is named as such. The confusion seems to be on account of the fact that Richīka and Ajīgarta were both Bhārgava Ṛṣis. Mbh. (VI. Ch 6) names the Ṛṣi as Richīka but agrees to the Ait. Brā. account in mentioning Hariśchandra as the king. Refer also to Bhāg. IX. 7.7ff , HV. I 27.55-56 and Ṛgveda I. 24.

The account regarding Śunaḥśepa is important for the fact that it reveals the prevalance of human-sacrifice in the early stages of our history. At the same time, however, it looks certain that the people were gradually losing their faith in such heinous practices. Not only the agonies of the sacrificial victim are brought into prominent relief but also the hesitation of the sacrificial class of men in officiating at such sacrifices. This is clear from the fact that none other than Ajīgarta, Śunahśepa's father, who had not been left with even an iota of parental or even human love in him, was prepared to complete the ceremonies required for the boy's sacrifice.

The significance of Vasiṣṭha-Viśwāmitra conflict

The question may be posed in the end as to what is the significance of the Vasiṣṭha - Viśvāmitra quarrel. Many western scholars are fanatically dogmatic in saying[1] that the accounts relating to their quarrels point to Brāhmana-Ksatriya antagonism of India. Some Indian scholars too subscribe to that view. To the present writer, however, this conclusion seems to be hardly based on facts and it looks like a generalisation, which has done more harm than any good to the study of real history. The accounts make it absolutely clear that the genesis of the quarrel lay in the desire of sage Viśvāmitra to become the priest of the Kośalan kings of Ayodhyā on one side and Vasiṣṭha's attempt to thwart the same on the other. The latter seems to have deemed the Purohitahood of Ayodhyā to be his natural claim, since it had been customarily vested in his house. The same feud over Purohitahood is seen to be the cause of their mutual acrimony in the days of Sudāsa as well, which is mentioned in the Rigveda.[2] But finding himself unsuccessful against Vasiṣṭha, Viśvāmitra espoused every available cause against him. That was why he took up the cause of Triśanku, punished Hariśchandra for the

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1. Refer for example, to Pargiter, JRAS. 1913, PP. 889-900 and 1917, PP. 37-40.
2. III. 53 ; VII. 32 ; see also Brihaddevatā IV. 112-5.

Dakṣiṇā that the king had withheld from him at the instance of Vaśiṣtha. If it were a Brāhmaṇa-Kṣatriya quarrel alone, why did Viśvāmitra persecute Hariśchandra so much, it may be asked? After all the latter was a Kṣatriya. It appears that Viśvāmitra overplayed his part so much so that Hariśchandra became a religious hero, a martyr at the altar of truth and the real motive of Viśvāmitra was altogether forgotten.

There might have been yet another cause for that quarrel. The kingdoms of Ayodhyā and Kānyakubja were the two powerful states of Madhyadeśa and in their hey-day they must have vied with each other for political supremacy. Their frontiers sometimes touched each other and they seem to have had, despite their common front against the Haihayas, some mutual conflicts. Vasiṣṭha was the Purohita of Kośalan kings and that position carried a good deal of responsibility with it. He could not remain oblivious of the overall interests of the state and had to take up the cause of their masters against the Kānyakubja kingdom and thus was forced to come in conflict with Viśvaratha, the king of Kānyakubja. Indeed, the Rāmāyana[1] is very suggestive in tracing the whole Vasistha-Viśvāmitra quarrel to Viśvāmitra's desire of forcibly taking the Kāmadhenu of Vasiṣtha.

Gradually their quarrel became the quarrel of their two families, continued for generations, and finds mention at various places in Indian literature. The Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata descriptions[2] are sought to be interpreted as Brāhmaṇic in their intent. The whole conflict there, however, is caused not by any request of Viśvāmitra for the recognition of his Brāhmaṇhood but on account of his desire and forceful possession of Vasiṣtha's cow, Nandinī. Many a king in ancient India are said to have fallen victim to such greed. It is

1. VR. I. Chs. 51ff.

2 Ibid. I. Chs. 51-60 ; Mbh. I. Ch. 175 and IX. Ch. 40.

only when Viśvāmitra finds himself failing, he goes on a penance. His later power as a Ṛisi is recognised in high terms but again the cause of the quarrel remains the same. It should be appreciated in this connection that Brahma and Ksatra powers[1] were not treated to be those of the Brāhmaṇas and Ksatriyas respectively in general. That never became a test case. They really represented the power of penance, sacrifice, and self-immolation on one side and that of sheer brute force on the other.[2] What is lauded in the two epics as well as the Purāṇas in favour of Viśvāmitra even is his power of penance and the supernatural force, by which he created a new world for his favourite, Triśanku.[3]

We may conclude that the quarrel was one between two individuals to gain worldly prestige and indirect power vested in the Purohitahood of a royal house, which later turned into an acrimony between two houses of distinguished sages, the Vasisthas and the Viśvāmitras. The accounts, portraying that quarrel cannot be treated as types and representative of the social conditions in general.

Nothing particular is known about the successors of Hariśchandra except that his son Rohita built the city of Rohitapura[4] Rohita's younger son Champa built Champāpurī[5] in the east of modern Bihar, which later became the capital of Anga.

Successors of Hariśchandra

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1. धिग्बलं क्षत्रबलं ब्रह्मतेजोबलं बलम् ।
   एकेन ब्रह्मदण्डेन सर्वास्त्राणि हतानि मे ॥ VR. I. 56 23
2. Really speaking, Vasiṣtha had very great respect and praise for Viśvāmitra. Cf VR I Ch 20
3. VR I Ch. 60, Śiva II Sec. 5.38.12 ; Br. 8 21-3, HV. I 13 23 ; Bhāg, IX. 7 6, Bd III 63.114, Vāyu 88 113-6 etc
4. Identified with modern Rohtas in the Sahasram district of Bihar, vide N. L Dey, Geog Dict P. 170.
5. Cf A. D Pusalker. Op. Cit. P. 286

Sagara : Imperial Power Restored

Sagara proved to be the fortune of the solar dynasty of Ayodhyā in as much as he was able to retrieve the lost prestige of his line. We have already seen how his father, Bāhu, was turned out of his kingdom by the Haihaya-Tālajaṅgha combination that was aided by the north-western tribes of the Śakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Pahlavas, and Pāradas and had to flee for his life. Accompanied by his pregnant queen, a Yādavī[1] and perhaps a princess of Sūraśena, he had to seek refuge with the Bhārgava sage, Aurva,[2] in his hermitage. The queen was poisoned by her co-wife with an intention to kill the foetus[3] In the meantime the king gave up his ghost and she prepared to immolate herself on the burning pyre of her husband. The sage Aurva, however, saved her and in course of time she gave birth to Sagara. The prince was consecrated in all the Saṁskāras as well as educated in all the Vidyās—the Vedas, Śāstras, and the fire-arms by that sage, who meticulously trained him for the big job lying ahead, viz the annihilation of Haihayas, Tālajaṅghas, and the hardy hordes from the north-west, the common enemies of the Aikṣvākus and Bhārgavas both.

The task before Sagara, a prince without any capital, kingdom, or army, was immensely difficult - his enemies powerful and his means very meagre. But he rose to the occasion—we do not know by what methods, and was able to avenge the defeat

Enemies conquered

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1 पत्नी तु यादवी तस्य सगर्भा पृष्ठतोऽन्वगात् ॥

Br. 8 38 , Vāyu. 88.131.

2 Pargiter says that his personal name was Agni. Vide. AIHT P 268

3 The account is given in Br 8 33 42 ; Viṣ IV. 3 27-37 ; Bḍ III. 63 121-5 , HV I 13 32 to 14 10 ; Vāyu 88 123-135 ; Śiva Pt II Sec. 5.38 23-39 , Bhāg IX 8 3-4

of his father very soon. He is said[1] to have been able to kill and subdue the Haihayas and Tālajaṅghas and their accomplices, the north-west Indian tribes The Purāṇas inform[2] that the king tried to wholly exterminate the latter from their hearths and homes but they surrendered and on the advice of Vasiṣtha, the Rājapurohita, he forgave them with the infliction of different grades of punishments on them. Thus the heads of the Yavanas and the Kāmbojas were shaven, the Śakas were only half-shaven, the Pāradas were made to grow long hair and the Pahlavas were to grow moustaches and beards. It is clear that they had to give up their own customs and manners[3] but were not allowed to join the faith and observe the customs of the conquerors[4]—something strange and exceptional for the then Hindu society, which had been usually very catholic and all-embracing. It may be observed in a passing reference here that the above tribes, whom the purānas and the epics give anachronistic names of Śakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Pahlavas, and Pāradas cannot be identified with

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1 Vāyu 88 135-143, Br 8 43-51, Bhāg IX 8 5-6, Bḍ III. 63 134-141; Viṣ IV 3 38-49, Śiva Pt II Sec 5 38 40-47, HV I 14 10-19, Mbh III 106 8.

2 Ibid

3 सगरः स्वां प्रतिज्ञा तु गुरोर्वाक्य निशम्य च ।
धर्मं जघान तेषा वै वेशानन्याश्चकार ह ॥
Śiva II Sec 5 38 44; Vāyu 88.139, HV I 14 15, Bḍ III 63 137, Br 8 47.

4 निःस्वाध्यायवषट्कारा: कृतास्तेन महात्मना ॥
Br 8 49, Śiva II Sec 5 38 46; Bḍ III 63 139. In this connection it should be noted that in some Purānas it is said that they had already been previously Aryanised and made Kṣtriyas. Now they were turned out by Sagara and Vasiṣtha from the Hindu fold to get Mlechchahood. Vide—

सर्वे ते क्षत्रियगणा धर्मस्तेषां निराकृतः ।
वसिष्ठवचनात्पूर्वं सगरेण महात्मना ॥ Vāyu 88.143

However, it looks doubtful that they had already been Aryanised.

their namesakes, who came to India quite long after. It seems they were some frontier tribes, whose correct names the Purānas have not been able to give.

Some Purānas add to the above list some more peoples, who were defeated by Sagara. They are enumerated as Kalisparśas or Konisarpas (difficult to be identified), Māhisakas (people from the Mahismandala—the Haihayas themselves), Darvas, Cholas, and Keralas[1] (all from the south). It is not improbable that these peoples from the Deccan and the south might have been the allies of the main enemies of Kośalan monarchy, the Haihaya-Tālajanghas, and so were defeated by the victorious armies of Sagara.

With the defeat of his enemies ended the first phase of Sagara's conquest and the second one began with a programme of Dharmavijaya, in which was launched the sacrificial horse of Aśvamedha or Vājimedha,[2] followed by sixty thousand sons of the monarch.

Aśvamedha sacrifice

These sixty thousand men—figuratively called his sons, were the soldiers of his army, who accompanied the horse on its victorious march The description that the sacrificial horse gradually went to the south-east as far as the Velā,[3] very probably the regions of the bay of Bengal, is one of the most famous narratives of Indian tradition. The horse, we are informed,[4] was supernaturally stolen by Indra to be tied to a

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1. शक्रायवनकाम्बोजाः पारदाश्च द्विजासमाः ।
   कोशिसर्पा माहिषका दर्व्वाश्चोलाः सकेरलाः ॥
   HV. I. 141 8, Br 8 50, The Vāyu. 88.142 puts in the Khasas in place of the Keralas
2. VR I. Ch. 39; Br. 8.52, Bhāg. IX. 8 7-8, Bḍ. III. 63 182; Vāyu. 88 144; Śiva II. Sec. 5.38.48; Mbh. III. 107 11ff.
3. Br. 8 53, Vāyu. 88 145, HV. I. 14.22; Bḍ. III. 63.143; Śiva II. Sec 5 38.50; VR. I. Ch. 38.
4. Bḍ III. 63 144ff., Br. 8,54ff., and 78.13ff.; Viṣ IV. 4.16ff.; Bhāg IX 8 8ff.; Vāyu 88 146ff.; HV. I. 14.23ff.; Śiva Pt. II. Sec. 5 38 51ff.; Mbh III. 107.13.

tree in the underground hermitage of Kapila Ṛiṣi in the Pātāla Loka. Sagara's sons were able to trace it out after great difficulty through the method of following its footprints. They were at once incensed at the sage, began abusing, and tried to kill him but in return the anger of that hermit proved to be their end, since they were all burnt alive except four. When Sagara came to know of the event, he sent his grandson Aṅśumāna to bring back the horse. He was able to do the same after great difficulty. He was also able to please the sage, Kapila, who was kind enough to point out that Bhagīratha, the grandson of Aṅśumāna would be able to bring the Gaṅgā into the plains from the great Himālaya and through its waters the dead sons of Sagara would be absolved of their sins.

When divested of its supernatural elements, the account looks perfectly an historical one. It may be concluded that Sagara was able to bring under his possession large parts of eastern and south-eastern India as far as the sea, which having been first reached by his army came to be known after him by the name Sāgara.[1] The pātāla Loka, where lay the hermitage of sage Kapila, has to be identified with the hinterland of Bengal. It was inhabited till then by only the pioneers of the culture of Madhyadeśa and its final colonisation was completed by the adventurous sons (army) of Sagara.

Sagara was a Chakravartin[2] and he is said to have performed a hundred Aśvamedhas,[3] significant of his wide conquests. Like Māndhātā, he is enumerated as one of the

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1 Mbh. XII. 29.135 ; HV. I. 14 29 ; Bd. III. 63.150 ; Br. 8.60 , Vis. IV. 4 33,

2. Bhāg. IX 8 5.

3. श्राजहाराश्वमेधानां शतं च सुमहातपाः ।
Br. 8 61 , Bd. III. 63·151 , Vāyu 88 152 ; Śiva II Sec 5 38.57 ; Mbh. XII. 29.132.

sixteen great kings in the Mahābhārata, having suzerainty over the whole of India[1] and ruling over a prosperous realm for a long period. His politico-religious career has been eminently summarised in one of the Pāli Jātaka Gāthās,[2] which refers to his conquests upto the sea, his sacrificial posts, and altar-fires.

The Successors of Sagara

Sagara had two wives..[3] The first was the daughter of Vidarbha, the king, who gave his name to the Vidarbha (Berar) country.[4] She was named Keśinī and was given in marriage to Sagara by his father after he had been defeated by that solar[5] king. The second, who was younger, was the daughter and sister of Ariṣṭanemi and Suparṇa respectively and was named Sumati.[6] Keśinī had one son, Asamañjasa, also named Pañchajana Sumati is mythically[7] said to have been the mother of sixty thousand sons, undoubtedly a very great exaggeration. The number of her sons, however, seems to have been sufficiently large. Sagara's eldest son, Asamañjasa, was of a reproachable conduct in so far as he took

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1 एकछत्रा मही तस्य प्रतापादभवत्पुरा । Mbh. XII. 29.132.

2 यं सागरान्त सागरो विजित्वा यूपं सुभं सोएणमयं उलारम् ।
उस्सेसि वेस्सानरमाददानो सुभोग देवंञतरो अहोसि ।
Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed) III, P. 203.

3. द्वे भार्ये सगरस्यास्तां तपसादग्धकिल्बिषे ।
ज्येष्ठा विदर्भदुहिता केशिनी नाम नामतः ॥
कनीयसी तु महती पत्नी परमधर्मिणी ।
अरिष्टनेमिदुहिता रूपेणाप्रतिमा भुवि ॥
HV. I. 15.2-3 ; Vāyu. 88.155-160 ; Br. 8.63-4 , Bḍ. III. 63-154-9.

4. Cf. Pargiter, AIHT. P. 156.

5. Bḍ. III. 49.1.3 ; 51.31.37.

6. She is named Śaibyā in the Mbh. III. 106.9.

7 HV. I. 15 6-8 ; Br. 8.67-8 , Bḍ. III. 63 159-161 ; Vāyu. 88.159 160.

pleasure in throwing away innocent children into the river Sarayū. A complaint being lodged against him, he was forsaken[1] by his father. His other brothers also imitated him and so were disliked by the populace. Under such circumstances the mantle of kingship fell on Aṅśumāna after Sagara and we are told that he himself anointed Anśumāna as a king.[2]

Anśumāna seems to have been able to retain large portions of Sagara's conquests under his possession, though a few dynasties were able to free themselves of Kośala's suzerainty[3] His grandson Bhagīratha was again a Chakravartin.[4] The Purānas[5] and the epics[6] tell us of an interesting story about how the sacred river Gaṅgā was brought by him from the Himālaya into the plains. We are told that having come to realize his duty of rescuing his ancestors, the sons of Sagara, from their evil fate which they had met after being burnt by sage Kapila and in which they lay in an underground pit, he proceeded to the great mountain, Himālaya, where lay Lord Śankara's abode and began to worship him. The Lord got pleased and blessed him with the fulfilment of his wish The Gangā descended on the earth and, directed by Bhagīratha, it followed the way which ultimately led her to the sea. In her way, the pit where lay the dead ancestors of Bhagīratha, was filled by its waters and they were thus able to attain the heavens. Thus the river, having attained the daughterhood

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1. Viṣ IV. 4 10, Bhāg IX. 8 18, Bḍ III 63.165, Vāyu 88 166, VR I 38 22, Mbh III. 107 40.
2. Bhāg IX 8 30-31, Mbh III 107 64
3. Cf F E Pargiter, AIHT. P. 272
4. स तु राजा महेष्वासश्चक्रवर्ती महारथः ।
   बभूव सर्वलोकस्य मनोनयननन्दनः ॥ Mbh III 108 1
5. Br 8 75-7 and 78 48 77, Bḍ III. 56 32-53 and 63 167-9; Bhāg. IX. 9.2-15; Pad. VI 22 10-28 and 267.52-4, Viṣ IV 4.35, HV I 15 15-16, Vāyu 47 24-40
6. Mbh. III. 108.2 to 109-16; XII 29 69; VR. I. Chs 42-4.

of Bhagīratha came to be also known as Bhāgīrathī, still a popular name of Gangā.

The whole account is characteristic of the Purāṇic way of telling things. It points out to the expansion of the Kośalan power and possession by Bhagīratha upto the high peaks of Himālaya in the north and the extension of his rule upto the Gangā-Sāgara, i. e., where the Gaṅgā meets the sea in the south-east. It might also indicate that he was a worshipper of Śiva and the Gangā, its worship having started from him. The splendour, plenty, and prosperity af his reign are also suggested by the fact that he performed many sacrifices, in which abundant gifts were given.[1] The Mahābhārata[2] ascribes to him a place in the list of the sixteen great kings of India.

The post-Bhagīratha history of Kośala does not seem to have been very significant until the arrival on the throne of Dilīpa II, the Khaṭvāṅga, and his son, Raghu. It was particularly so in respect to political conditions. No new conquests were made in that period. There are, however, many references, which clearly suggest that from the religious point of view the age was not so unimportant and society kept its progressive pace. Ambarīṣa, the son of Nābhāga, kept up the religious traditions of his forefathers and performed a number of sacrifices, on the conclusion of which he distributed unequalled gifts to the Brāhmaṇas, and thus immortalised his fame.[3] It seems, however, only a platitudinous statement that he performed Aśvamedhas, in which hundreds and thousands of kings appeared to serve the Yājakas.[4]

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1. Mbh XII 29.65 and 69
2. Ibid. XII. 29 64-70.
3. Mbh. XII. 29.100-2. The Mbh includes him in the Soḍaṣarājikā (Ibid 100 4)
4. शतं राजसहस्राणि शतं राजशतानि च ।
सर्वैरश्वमेधैरीजानास्तेऽन्वयुर्दक्षिणायनम् ॥ Ibid. XII. 29 103.

Saudāsa Mitrasaha, Kalmāsapāda, was another notable king, who ultimately quarrelled with his Purohita Vasiṣtha and became famous. We are informed[1] that under the influence of a Rākṣasa he once served human flesh to Vasiṣṭha and on that account was cursed to Rākṣasahood and cannibalism. The king was enraged for he thought himself to be innocent and was prepared to curse Vasiṣtha as a matter of revenge but desisted from doing so on the bidding of his queen, Madayantī. His feet, however, got blackened because he threw on them the chanted water, which he had taken in his hand to curse Vasistha. This gave him his second name, Kalmāsapāda, 'the black-footed'. Vasistha having come to know the real cause of the king's behaviour—the influence of a wicked Rāksasa, limited the duration of his curse to only twelve years. But even after the expiry of that term he could not return to conjugal life on account of another curse. The king being sonless asked his wife, Madayantī, to beget a son through levirate by Vasistha, which she did and begot Aśmaka.[2]

Reference may be made in this connection to some accounts,[3] which create confusion by their allusions to Sudāsa, the Ṛigvedic king of the Punjab, and his relations to the two Brāhmaṇa sages, Vasiṣtha and Viśvāmitra. The mutual quarrels of the two Riṣis are introduced as adjuncts of the story of Kalmāṣapāda. There are some scholars, who confuse between the two Sudāsas, one of Ayodhyā and the other of the Punjab, and treat them as one.[4] Those accounts are, however, chronologically and historically incorrect.[5] Sudāsa of Ayodhyā, the father of Mitrasaha, and Sudāsa of the Punjab were two different kings and were separated from each other by a good deal of time.

1 Viṣ IV. 4 40-72 ; Bhāg. IX. 9.18-39 ; VR VII. Ch. 65
2. VR. V. 24 12 , Viṣ. IV. 4.71-2 ; Vāyu. 88 177 , Bḍ. III. 63 177 ; Km. I. 21 12-13 ; Mbh. I. 122 21-22.
3. Lg I. 63 83 and 64.2-47 ; Mbh. I. Chs. 176 and 177.
4. B C. Law, Tribes In Ant. India. P. 181
5. Cf. Pargiter, AIHT, PP. 210-12.

Mr. Pargiter seems to have attached too much importance to the strained relations of Kalmāṣapāda and Vasiṣṭha. It is true that from Kalmāṣapāda the Kośalan line developed into two branches, which continued for a few generations, i. e, upto Dilīpa II, Khṭtvāṅga. The two lines had started from the two sons of Mitrasaha Kalmāṣapāda, namely Sarvakarmā and Aśmaka.[1] The learned scholar observes : "it seems possible to connect this split with Kalmāsapāda's conduct to Vasiṣṭha described above for it can hardly be doubted that the Brāhmaṇas of Ayodhyā would have been inflamed and sought revenge. This would explain the statements that Sarvakarmā in one line was brought up in secret and that Mūlaka in the other fled to the forest for safety. There would have been a contest similar to that of Rāma Jāmadagnya's time described above and the two contests would through the lack of the historical sense have been confused in Brāhmanic stories."[2] These arguments, however, do not appear to have much substance. There is no question of the Brāhmanas of Ayodhyā having taken revenge against the successor kings, for we are informed at the end of the story that king Mitrasaha (Kalmāsapāda) himself asked his queen to beget a son by his priest, Vasisṭha, through the religious custom of levirate. This would have been simply impossible if the differences had not already been patched up and reconciliation established. It also seems wide of the mark to say that a royal prince like Sarvakarmā, with all the authority of the state behind him, should have been bred up in secret for fear of a few Brāhmanas, dependent on the patronage of that prince's family, Further, unlike the Haihaya-Bhārgava quarrel, we are told nothing about any struggle between the successors of Kalmāsapāda on one side and those of Vasistha on the other, Truely, it is one of the Purānic mistakes and historical confusions that Mūlaka, the son of Aśmaka, is introduced as having been bred

4. See ante. P. 94.
1. Op. Cit. PP. 274-5.

up in secret amongst women on account of Paraśurāma's fear,[1] who happened to live so many generations prior to Mūlaka. It must be taken note of, however, that Aśmaka, who founded Paudanya[2] (Potanna of the Buddhists), started a new line on the bank of the river Godāvarī,[3] a territory not far from those of the Haihayas. It is not improbable that the successors of Paraśurāma, for whom his name is erroneously substituted, might have campaigned in those territories and Mūlaka too might have suffered on account of his geographical continuity with the Haihayas.

The story of Kalmāsapāda seems to have been invented for only one purpose and that is to offer an explanation of Mitrasaha's epithet, 'Kalmāsapāda'. If it indicates anything historical at all, it is the fact that the custom of levirate was universally recognized in the age under our consideration and even the highest of the families did not have any objection in practising it.

Sixth in descent from Mitrasaha Kalmāsapāda was the famous Dilīpa II, also known by his title, 'Khatvānga'.[4] He ascended the throne of Ayodhyā at a time, when it required a really strong hand to extricate it from the insignificant position in which it had temporarily sunk. The dynasty had lost a good deal of its power and prestige on account of its division between two lines from the two sons of Kalmāsapāda, Sarvakarmā and Aśmaka. Its unification was overdue and was achieved by Dilīpa II. There is no division now and the two sets of names of rulers are henceforth not found in the genealogical lists of the Purāṇas from Dilīpa II onwards.

1. Viṣ IV 4 73-4 , Bḍ III 63 178-9 ; Bhāg IX. 9 39-40 ; Vāyu 88.179. Mūlaka is called 'Nārīkavacha', i e., shelled by women, because of the fact that he was bred up in secret amongst them.
2. Mbh. I. 177.47.
3. Cf. Pradhan S. N., Chronology of Ant. India, P. 150 ; Rhys Davids, Bhuddhist India, P 20.
4. Viṣ IV. 4 81 , Lg. I. 66 32 ; Vāyu. 88 182 ; Km. I 21 15 ; Kalki, III. 3.21 ; Saura 30.47.

Dilīpa II is enumerated as one of the sixteen great kings (Sodaṣarājikā) in the Mahābhārata,[1] where he is chiefly remembered as a great sacrificer and almsgiver. He is said to have given the whole of the earth (his kingdom) with all its wealth in gifts. This is ostensibly a priestly exaggeration. The epic further says[2] that three sounds never stopped in his court, viz. 'the sound of self-study', 'the sound of bowstrings' and the sound of those, who used to say 'Give us, Give us'. We may rightly conclude that Dilīpa II was not only interested in the extension and consolidation of his kingdom, but also applied himself to the encouragement of cultural activities.

Dilīpa II was a Samrāṭ and a chakravartin[3] and is said to have helped the gods in their fight against the Asuras. His chief queen was Sudakṣiṇā, a Magadhan Princess, and to her was born Raghu with the blessings of Nandinī, Vasiṣṭha's cow.[4] His subjects were happy and prosperous[5] and he was a performer of a hundred Aśvamedhas.[6]

The Age of Raghu

Raghu succeeded Dilīpa II and continued the solar line of Ayodhyā as gloriously as his father did. He was also known as Dīrghabāhu[7] and seems to have identified himself with the ideals, aims, and aspirations of the dynasty so much so

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1. XII. 29 71-80
2. त्रयः शब्दा न जीर्यन्ते दिलीपस्य निवेशने ॥
   स्वाध्यायघोषो ज्याघोषो दीयतामिति वै त्रयः ॥ Ibid. XII. 29.79.
3. Cf. A. D. Pusalker, Op Cit. P. 289 ; Pargiter, Op. Cit. P. 39. Agni Purāṇa (CCXIX.50) mentions him as a great conqueror.
4. Kālidāsa, Raghuvamśa, Chs. 1-3 ; Padma, VI. 198.3 & 199 66,
5. Raghuvamśa. I. 63.
6. Ibid. 3.38-9.
7. दीर्घबाहुर्दिलीपस्य रघुर्नाम्ना सुतोऽभवत् । Br. 8.85 ; HV. I. 15.25.

that it came to be called the Raghuvaṁśa[1] after him. Kālidāsa recognised his greatness long after he was no more and named after him one of his greatest poems, the Raghuvaṁśa. The celebrated poet describes in great details the conquests which Raghu made not only within the frontiers of India but also beyond her borders The poet informs[2] that the army of Raghu began its victorious march alongwith the course of the Gaṅgā to the south-east and adopting as its route the confines of India traversed respectively the bay of Bengal, Orissa, the banks of the Kāverī in the south, the country of the Muralas on the south-west coast, the Aparānta in the west, and finally making it a point to attain victory over the Persians it took the course of the river Sindhu in the north-west. Later in its way it had to contend with the Kāmbojas, Hūnas and Yavanas, who were all defeated. Having thus won the three sides of India, Raghu's army passed along the hilly slopes of the Himālaya, went in the east upto Prāgjyotiṣa and Kāmarūpa, and, having established its superiority over those parts of India, returned to Kośala. Raghu's conquest was not an Asuravijaya, i. e., he did not exterminate the independent existence of the kingdoms, which he conquered, but allowed them to continue after they accepted his suzerainty. It was a Dharma-vijaya,[3] which he solemnized by an appropriate sacrifice, the Viśvajita,[4] in which, it is said, he gave in gifts all that he possessed.[5]

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1. कतिचिद्वासरैस्तस्य दिलीपस्याभवद्रघुः ।
   यस्य नाम्नारवेर्वंशः पृथिव्यां विश्रुतोऽभवत् ॥ Pad. VI. 199.65.
2. Raghuvamśa IV. 32-85.
3. गृहीतप्रतिमुक्तस्य स धर्मविजयी नृपः ।
   श्रियं महेन्द्रनाथस्य जहार न तु मेदिनीम् ॥ Ibid. IV. 43.
4. स विश्वजितमाजह्रे यज्ञ सर्वस्वदक्षिणम् ।
   आदान हि विसर्गाय सतां वारिमुचामिव ॥ Ibid. IV. 86.
5. Kālidāsa poetically describes (Raghuvamśa V. 1-30) also as to how in the event of Raghu's having nothing after his Viśvajita

[Footnoote to be contd. on P. 155]

It may be doubted, however, whether the conquests attributed to Raghu by Kālidāsa are really historical. They seem to be more like an ideal that a later poet could set for a great king, a Samrāṭ and a Chakravartin of his own times, in matters of paramountcy and suzerainty rather than a description of actual events of the historical past of Kośala. The descriptions suffer from anachronisms in as much as they refer to the Yavanas and the Hūnas alongwith the Persians, since the former two are historically known to have occupied the territories between Persia and the Punjab much later. The so-called conquest of the south also by Raghu seems to be anachronistic because it was Rāma, the great grandson of that emperor, who with great difficulty was able for the first time to establish his supremacy over south India.

What was then the real basis of Kālidāsa's portrayal? That great poet is generally very reliable as far as the description of the Solar genealogy of Ayodhyā is concerned[1] and seems to have been well-conversant with the traditions of the past. He cannot be completely brushed aside as incorrect in all respects. Had there been no tradition of Raghu's wide conquests and of his great sacrifices and gifts, Kālidāsa would not have made him his ideal. It may, therefore, be concluded that even if all the details of the Raghuvamśa might not be completely historical, Raghu had certainly some claims to greatness and glory that is generally ascribed to him. It is unfortunate that there is no sober record of this tradition.

Aja, the son of Raghu, succeeded him on the throne of Ayodhyā[2] He enjoyed what the latter had bequeathed to

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[contd.] sacrifice Kautsa, the disciple of Varatantu, came to demand of the king fourteen crores of gold-coins, so that he might pay off his Guru's Dakṣiṇā. The king was obliged to decide to wage war on Kuvera, who gladly filled his treasury and Kautsa was given the sum he had demanded.

1. See ante. Ch. III.
2. Bhāg. IX. 10 1; Vāyu 88.183; Br. 8 86; Viṣ. IV 4.85; Bd. III 63.184.

him as his possessions. He is not credited with any conquest but seems to have maintained what he inherited from his father. He was invited by the Vidarbha king, Bhoja, when the latter arranged a 'Svayaṁvara' for his sister, Indumatī.[1] He went to Vidarbha with a great army and, after Indumatī chose him, had to contend in a battle against all the other monarchs, who had assembled to win her love but had failed. They tried to test his mettle[2] and worth before giving up their own claims and gave battle on his way back to Ayodhyā, in which he came out with flying colours. As a ruler Aja seems to have been too much engrossed in worldly pleasures and made his beautiful queen, Indumatī, the be-all and end-all of his life, so much so that when she prematurely died, he lost himself in lamentations and ultimately gave up his life in self-immolation by performing a penance at the confluence of the Gaṅgā and Sarayū[3] (near the modern Chhapra town of Bihar).

Daśaratha was the son and successor of Aja.[4] He was a great monarch, "who led his victorious campaigns throughout the length and breadth of North India and spread the Aryan culture far and wide."[5] Though Kālidāsa speaks[6] in a general way of his single-handed conquest of the whole earth yet nothing specific is known about the same. His relations with other kings seem to have been based on friendship and his influence over the neighbouring rulers is proved from the

1. Raghuvaṁśa. V. 39
2. Ibid. V. 40 to VII. 70.
3. Ibid. VIII. 37-95.
4. Mbh. III. 274 6.
5. A. D. Pusalker, Op. Cit. P. 289.
6. अजयदेकरथेन स मेदिनीमुदधिनेमिमधिज्यशरासनः ।
   जयमघोषयदस्य तु केवलं गजवती जवती ब्रह्मा चमूः ॥
   Raghuvaṁśa. IX. 10.

descriptions of the Rāmāyaṇa, where his Aśvamedha[1] for the fulfilment of his desire to have sons is portrayed. We are told by Vālmīki that when all things had been settled for the sacrifice under the guidance of the venerable sages, Ṛiṣyaśṛiṅga and Vasiṣṭha, the neighbouring and friendly kings were invited to it. They included[2] Janaka of Mithilā (Videha), the friendly king of Kāśı (not named), the father-in-law of Daśaratha, who was the king of Kekaya, as well as his son (Aśvapati), the king of Aṅga, named Romapāda[3] (who was of the age of Daśaratha himself), and various other friendly rulers from Sindhu-Sauvīra, Saurāṣtra and the Deccan. These rulers seem to have accepted his suzerainty and friendship. Many of the kings from the Deccan, east, north, and west, who are later spoken[4] of as having been invıted to consider the proposal of Rāma's anointment as crown-prince might have been of the above list. On another occasion, when Kaikeyī was adamant on the fulfilment of her demand of Bharata's anointment as crown-prince and Rāma's exile to the Daṇḍaka forest, Daśaratha asked her to choose anything ıncluding mastery over any of the terrıtories of the Dravidas, Sindhu-Sauvīras, Saurāstra Dakṣiṇāpatha, Vaṅga, Aṅga, Magadha, Matsya, and the prosperous Kāśi-Kośala instead of her demands. It is a distinct pointer to his political suzerainty over those parts of the country.

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1 Kālidāsa calls (Ibıd. X. 4) it a Putreṣṭı sacrifice.

2. VR I. 13 21-27.

3. Romapāda, beıng issueless, had adopted Śāntā,, the daughter of Daśaratha, and gave her in marriege to the sage Ṛısyaśringa, who later presided over Daśaratha's Putreṣṭi Sacrifice. Cf A D. Pusalker, Op. Cıt. PP. 290,292.

4. VR II. 2.24-26 ; 3.25 goes as follows :—
उपविष्टाश्चसचिवा राजानश्च सनैगमाः ।
प्राच्योदीच्याः प्रतीच्याश्चदाक्षिणात्याश्च भूमिपाः ॥

Daśaratha was great in the art of war but he was greater still in the arts of peace. The glowing terms, in which Vālmīki refers to his just and equitable administration, the plenty and prosperity of his kingdom, the steadfast character of his people, and the grandeur of Ayodhyā, the capital city, may serve as an example for any type of government or ruler of any time. The poet says, "in that city of Ayodhyā, the knower of the Vedas, the possessor of all things, the farsighted, the beloved of the Paurajānapadas, the greatly valiant, the great amongst the Aiksvākus, the sacrificer, the religious-minded, the controller of his ownself, the great Rājarsi, as good as a Maharṣi, and famous in all the three Lokas, the powerful Daśaratha, who had subdued all his enemies, ruled like Indra and Vaiśravana. Daśaratha protected the world in the same way as Manu of yore did. That truth-dedicated monarch, who was the securer of the Trivargas - the Dharma, Artha, and Kāma - protected the city of Ayodhyā in the same way as Amarāvatī was protected by Indra. The people of that city were healthy, religious, widely learned, satisfied with their own possessions, greedless, and truthful. There was none, who was poor, who had no family, whose wishes were not satisfied, and who had no cows, horses, or other types of wealth. There could not be seen in Ayodhyā a person, who was sensuous, coward, cruel, atheist, or one, who was not widely learned. All persons, be they men or women, were engaged in religious pursuits, were controllers of their own-selves and had elevated themselves like great sages by their character and conduct."[1] One is at once reminded in this

1. तस्या पुर्यामयोध्याया वेदवित्सर्वसंग्रहः ।
दीर्घदर्शी महातेजाः पौरजानपदप्रियः ।।
इक्ष्वाकूणामतिरथो यज्वा धर्मरतो वशी ।
महर्षिकल्पो राजर्षिस्त्रिषुलोकेषु विश्रुतः ।।
बलवान्निहतामित्रो मित्रवान्विजितेन्द्रियः ।
धनैश्च संचयैश्चान्यैः शक्रवैश्रवणोपमः ।।

[Footnote to be contd. on P. 159]

connection of the famous words of Aśvapati Kekaya in the Chhāndogya Upanisad, where he says,[1] "In my Janapada (kingdom) there is no thief, no coward, no drunkard, none who neglects the sacrificial fire, none who is not learned, no adulterer, and so where is the question of a courtesan". Only sceptics may consider these descriptions to be poetic hyperboles for one is reminded here of more or less similar but historical accounts from foreign observers like Magasthenes and Fa-Hien about their contemporary Indian conditions, which they saw with their own eyes. Vālmīki's glowing account of Daśaratha's rule and Aśvapati's pride certainly represent an age of peace, plenty, prosperity, and uprighteous conduct from the highest to the lowest.

Daśaratha was a great sacrificer and is said to have performed many Rājasūyas and Aśvamedhas.[2]

The last days of Daśaratha were spent in great personal distress. Despite the fact that he was a polygamous king

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[contd] यथा मनुर्महातेजा लोकस्य परिरक्षिता ।
तथा दशरथो राजा वसञ्जगदपालयत् ॥
तेन सत्याभिसन्धेन त्रिवर्गमनुतिष्ठता ।
पालिता सापुरीश्रेष्ठा इन्द्रेणेवामरावती ॥
तस्मिन्पुरवरेहृष्टा धर्मात्मानो बहुश्रुताः ।
नरास्तुष्टा धनैः स्वैरलुब्धा सत्यवादिनः ॥
नाल्पसंनिचयः कश्चिदासीत्तस्मिन्पुरोत्तमे ।
कुटुम्बी योह्यसिद्धार्थोऽगवाश्वधनधान्यवान् ॥
कामी वा न कदर्यो वा नृशंसः पुरुष क्वचित् ।
द्रष्टुं शक्यमयोध्याया नाविद्वान्नच नास्तिकः ॥
सर्वेनराश्च नार्यश्च धर्मशीलाः सुसंयताः ।
उदिताः शीलवृत्ताभ्या महर्षय इवामलाः ॥ VR. I. 6.1-9

1. न मे स्तेनो जनपदे न कदर्यो न च मद्यपो ।
नानाहिताग्निर्नाविद्वान्न स्वैरी स्वैरिणी कुतो ॥ II. 5.11.5.

2. VR. II. 100.8 says :—राजसूयाश्वमेधानां आहर्त्ता धर्मनिश्चितः ॥

and had already two queens in Kauśalyā and Sumitrā, he had no son for quite late in his lite and went in for his third marriage with a Kekaya princess, Kaikeyī. It ultimately landed him into serious family troubles, which in the end turned chiefly round the question of succession after him. We propose to discuss that problem in the next chapter. The initiative in almost all the actions passes from Daśaratha to the hands of others, chiefly Rāma, the illustrious son of that king and the greatest of the solar kings of Ayodhyā.

CHAPTER V

THE AGE OF RĀMA

Rāma, an ideal

Rāma was the greatest of the Kośalan kings. He is one of those two great (the other being Kṛiṣṇa) ancient Indian figures, who have left their imperishable marks on the course of Indian history. They have deeply influenced the growth of our culture and civilization. That great hero of yore is so universally remembered and admired that even now he is often conjured up as an ideal to millions of minds—an ideal son, an ideal brother, an ideal husband, an ideal king, and an ideal man—the Maryādā Puruṣottama. What is the secret of his universal popularity ? His memory is cherished for his unflinching devotion to his parents, for his readiness to calmly accept, temporarily of course, the loss of his royal heirship, for cheerfully taking to the arduousness of a forest-life of fourteen years, forced upon him by his obdurate and wily step-mother, Kaikeyī, and for his complete annihilation of the Rāksasas. His ideal administration, 'Rāmarājya', with its proverbial sense of justice is still the byword for good administration. These were the qualities that enshrine him like an idol within the hearts of crores of Hindus. No wonder, he is made an embodiment of all that is good, great, and lasting in Indian history and tradition.

His historicity

The extraordinary greatness of Rāma, however, has dazzled and bewildered some scholars so much that they discard much of what is believed about him. One of the early Indologists, Weber, did not even believe in his very existence. Writing about the

Rāmāyaṇa and its characters he said,[1] "we find ourselves from the very outset in the region of allegory, and we only move upon historical ground in so far as the allegory is applied to an historical fact, namely, to the spread of Aryan civilization towards the south, more especially to Ceylon. The characters are not historic figures but merely personifications of certain occurrences and situations." The explanations that the learned scholar gave for the Rāmāyaṇic figures are examples of how and to what extent one's imagination could run riot. One reason of his absolute disbelief in the existence of Rāma seems to be that, when he wrote, very little was known about the traditional history of India's past. With the growing store of that knowledge, no scholar now believes in Weber's sweeping generalisation. It is wrong to suggest that Vālmīki wove the story of his great epic, the Rāmāyana, simply out of nothing. It cannot be said that what the millions of Indians believe to have happened is totally imaginary and concocted. Important works of traditional Indian literature—the Ṛigveda[2] the Purānas, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata and, the Buddhist Jātakas,[3] are practically unanimous in their treatment of Rāma's life and history.

Rāma's historicity being beyond any reasonable doubt, everything written or believed about him, however, cannot be unequivocally accepted. The history of Rāma, like the history of all great persons, has suffered because of its comparative distant past and also because of his own popularity and greatness. His history, like the best part of ancient Indian history, is based on tradition. But tradition has sometimes a tendency of turning a man into a superman, a history into a legend, and a reality into an imagination or fantasy. The ancient Indian tradition was in the beginning preserved through mental

His history Vs. legend.

1. Hist. Ind. Lit. P. 192.
2. X. 93 14.
3. Particularly the Dasaratha Jātaka, No. 461 (Fausboll's Ed.).

remembrance. The Śrutis, the Smṛitis, the Sūtras, the Purāṇas, and the epics of India have all passed through that process and thanks to it that the vast store of our knowledge is still intact. It must be borne in mind, however, that unlike the first three, the last two, i. e., the Purāṇas and the epics, were not confined to the select few—the learned people alone. They became the common property of the vast populace. This at once worked in a double way, firstly it preserved the hard core of our ancient history and culture and secondly much was added to what really happened. Nowhere in the world a popular tradition can be claimed to be wholly free from this defect.

On the above account, as years and centuries have passed by, Rāma's memory like that of many other great men has not only been cherished but his greatness and popularity have been idolized. His historical and monumental actions have been taken to be something super-human and heavenly. Hero-worship—a very popular sentiment with the Indians, has taken the place of proper evaluation. As his real achievements have passed beyond the ken of people, everything right or wrong has been taken as real and true about him. Rāma like Kṛisna—though the history of the former has not suffered as much as that of the latter, has been transformed from a human being into an Avatāra, the incarnation of god Viṣnu. He is treated to an object of worship and reverence. The reality about these two persons—one the hero of the Rāmāyaṇa and the other the most attractive figure of the Mahābhārata—the two of the greatest epics of the world, was that in their respective fields of life they proved to be of extraordinary greatness. They were the makers of history and the fathers of new ages. They monopolized the activities of their respective times so much and rose to such heights that after their eyes were stilled into death history was taken to have become barren and darkness set in alround. To the popular mind they became more and more the figures of religion, morals, and philosophy than that of history. They became religious deities and

began to be worshipped. Their appreciation changed into devotion so much so that the historical setting was comparatively forgotten.

It is proposed here to portray the life and history of Rāma in as objective a manner as possible through the method of a judicious sifting and collating of all the available materials.[1] History shall be tried to be separated from legend and the real from the fantastic or imaginary. His later growth into Avatārahood deserves to be completely ignored from the point of view of history. What are worth our purpose are the doings of the Great Rāma, the solar race prince of Ayodhyā and later its king.

The Early Life of Rāma

The solar dynasty of Ayodhyā had fallen from its position of pre-eminence after the days of famous Sagara and Bhagīratha.

The Raghuvaṁśa

It was not until Dilīpa II, the Khattvāṅga, and his illustrious son, Raghu, came on the scene that it came into its own. Raghu was quite powerful and politically supreme and the Ikṣvāku dynasty came to be designated after him as the Raghuvaṁśa. His grandson, Daśaratha, was able to successfully retain for himself the political leadership of India. He is, however, more famous as the father of his illustrious son, Rāma, and the history of the two may be treated to some extent in an integrated manner.

King Daśaratha, though polygamous, had no son till

1. Our main source for the history of Rāma is the Rāmāyana of Vālmīki. Though it is primarily a literary work, its main content is historical and after careful scrutiny and comparison with other available materials it serves our purpose. The Purānas, e. g. Agni (Ch. 5), follow the Rāmāyanic account completely though Padma (V. Chs. 32-5) adds much of its own.

late in his life.[1] He and his three principal queens, Kauśalyā, Sumitrā, and Kaikeyī, were worried about the future continuity of their line. So they performed on the advice of the family priest and teacher, Vasiṣṭha, and other prominent Brāhmanas a Putreṣṭi[2] (son-giving sacrifice) under the guidance of sage Ṛisyaśṛiṅga. The site of the sacrifice, which lasted for a year, was the north bank of the sacred river Sarayū[3] in front of the capital, Ayodhyā. The main sacrifice is said to have been accompanied by Jyotiṣṭoma, Āyuṣṭoma, Abhijita, Atirātra, Viśvajita, Abhijita, and certain others. All these sacrifices[4] were followed by abundant almsgiving. The king was thus after great efforts rewarded with the birth of four sons. The eldest was Rāma from the first and eldest queen, Kauśalyā,[5] Bharata was born to Kaikeyī,[6] and Lakṣmaṇa and Śatrughna to Sumitrā.[7]

The Birth of Rāma

Rāma was not only the eldest, the most liked and loved by his father,[8] his brothers, and the subjects, but also the foremost of all in personal merit and intrinsic qualities.[9] From his earliest days he was a promising and precocious child. He was

Early Education and Training

1 VR. I. 8 8.

2 The sacrifice is called a Hayamedha or an Aśvamedha in the Rāmāyaṇa and is graphically described there. See I. 8 8 to I. 14 59 ; Refer alsa to Raghuvamśa. X. 4.

3. अथ संवत्सरे पूर्णे तस्मिन् प्राप्ते तुरङ्गमे ।
सरय्वाश्चोत्तरेतीरे राज्ञो यज्ञमभ्यवर्तते ॥ Ibid. I. 14.1.

4. ज्योतिष्टोमायुषी चैवमतिरात्रौ चनिर्मितौ ।
अभिजिद्विश्वजिच्चैवमप्तोर्यामो महाक्रतुः ॥ Ibid. I. 14 42.

5 Ibid. I. 18.10 and 20.

6. Ibid. I. 18.12 and 20.

7. Ibid. I. 18 14 and 20.

8. तेषां केतुरिव ज्येष्ठो रामो रतिकरः पितुः ।
बभूव भूयो भूताना स्वयभूरिव सम्मतः ॥
Ibid I. 18 23 ; Refer also to I. 20.11.

9. Ibid. II. Chs. 1-2.

fondled by all and kept himself engaged in elephant-riding, horse-riding, charioteering, and archery[1] – arts that went in those days to make a good fighter. He was marked out for brave deeds from the very beginning. While he was still a child, Viśvāmitra,[2] perhaps a descendant of the Great Viśvāmitra, the son of Gādhi, came to Daśaratha's royal court to ask for his services[3] to get himself ridden off his troubles from the Rākṣasas. The latter, of whom Māricha and Subāhu were the leaders, were some uncivilized tribes. They had severely disturbed Viśvāmitra in his sacrificial penances[4] and had devastated his hermitage before his own eyes. King Daśaratha, though very unwilling, could not refuse the request of the sage, and, after his ministers also gave their consent, he allowed Rāma and his younger brother, Lakṣamaṇa, to accompany Viśvāmitra[5] to his hermitage.

At the time of Viśvāmitra's request for the services of Rāma, the latter was only fifteen years old[6] and had not completely learnt the arts of fighting, necessary for a battle or war. His premarriage sacraments, no doubt, had been performed and the sage Vasiṣṭha, the family teacher of the solar princes of Ayodhyā, seems to have taught him otherwise a good deal. His education, however, had still remained incomplete and so the sage Viśvāmitra proposed to complete it. He first gave him training in Mantras, which he easily

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1. गजस्कन्धे श्रश्वपृष्ठे च रथचर्यासु सम्मतः ।
   धनुर्वेदे च निरतः पितृशुश्रूषणे रतः ॥ Ibid. I. 18.26.
2. The VR. wrongly says that Viśvāmitra, the contemporary of Daśaratha, was the son of Gādhi. I. 18.37–38.
3. Ibid. I. Ch. 19 ; Padma VI. 269.104.7.
4. VR. I. 19.4ff
5. Ibid. I. Ch. 22 ; Pad. VI. 269.113-4.
6. ऊनषोडशवर्षो मे रामो राजीवलोचनः ।
   नयुद्धयोग्यतामस्य पश्यामि सह राक्षसैः ॥ VR. I. 20.2.

learnt.[1] Later he was imparted the knowledge of the various types of weapons and their use.[2] They included[3] the use of celestial weapons like disc-throwing (Chakra), the use of the trident (Triśūla), the use of the bow (Pināka), mace (Gadā), fire-arms and the lance or dart (Śakti), as well as training into archery. Rāma and Lakṣamaṇa had already proved their mettle by first chopping of the ears and nose of Tāḍakā, the fierce Rākṣasī, and then killing her at the instance of Viśvāmitra.[4] They ultimately performed their main work, the killing of the Rākṣasas, Subāhu and all his followers except Mārīcha. Thus the sacrifice of the sage was protected and ceremoniously finished.[5]

Marriage with Sītā

Gratified at the good done to him, Viśvāmitra took upon himself the responsibility of the marriage of his princely protege, Rāma. He proceeded with that intention to Mithilā, the capital of king Janaka of Videha, which lay towards the north[6] of his hermitage. The two princes, Rāma and Lakṣamaṇa, accompanied him[7] on his bidding and shortly reached Mithilā, where they were all very cordially welcomed by Janaka. The king, on being asked by Viśvāmitra to show the famous bow of Śaṅkara, that was lying in his (Janaka's) house, to Rāma and Lakṣamaṇa, made it known[8] that he would marry his daughter, Sītā, to Rāma, if he was able to break it. This was in reference to his vow to the effect that he would

1. Ibid. I. 22.12 and 20.
2. Ibid. I. Chs. 27-28 ; The Padma Purāṇa (VI. 269.96-7) says that Vasiṣṭha had already educated Rāma and Lakṣamaṇa in the Vedas and Dhanurveda.
3. VR. I. Chs. 27-28.
4. Ibid. I. Chs 24-6 , Pad. VI. 269.119.
5. VR. I. Ch. 30 , Pad. VI. 269.129.
6. Ibid. I. 31.15-16.
7. Ibid. I. Ch. 31 ; Padma, VI. 269.133.
8. Ibid. I. 66 5-26.

give his daughter in marriage to anyone, who could perform that feat. Many kings had already tried and failed in their object of getting the hands of Sītā and consequently they had attacked and plagued his kingdom separately first and collectively later. The bow was kept on a wheeled wooden platform and when it was brought before Rāma, he stringed it within moments and also playfully broke it into two to the surprise and glee of all the assembled people. Janaka was only too pleased to see his vow being fulfilled and preparations were then made for the marriage of Rāma and Sītā. King Daśaratha was informed in Ayodhyā[1] of all that had happened and he reached Mithilā with a full royal entourage.[2] On the advice of Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra, it was settled that all the four sons of Daśaratha should be married to the daughters of Janaka's family. The marriages of Rāma to Sītā, of Lakṣamana to Urmilā, and of Bharata and Śatrughna to the two daughters of Kuśadhvaja, younger brother of of Janaka, were ceremoniously solemnised[3] under the guidance of the Videhan Purohita, Śatānanda. After the ceremonies, in which Janaka gave various kinds of gifts as part of dowry, were over and Viśvāmitra had taken leave, Daśaratha and the princes came to Ayodhyā, the

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1. VR. I Ch 68, Padma. VI. 269 147.
2. Ibid. I Ch. 69 ; Padma VI. 269 148.
3. Ibid. I. Chs. 72-3, Padma. VI 269 150-1, The Agni Purāna (5 11-13) gives the following account :—

धनुरापूरयामास लीलया स बभंज तत् ।
वीर्यशुल्कां स जनकः सीता कन्या त्वयोनिजाम् ॥
ददौ रामाय रामोऽपि पित्रादौ हि समागते ।
उपयेमे जानकीं तामुर्मिलां लक्ष्मणस्तदा ॥

श्रुतकीर्तिमाण्डवी च कुशध्वजसुते तथा ।
जनकस्यानुजस्यैते शत्रुघ्नभरतावुभौ ॥

Kośalan capital.[1] Rāma led a happy conjugal life with Sītā for the next twelve years.[2]

The Proposed Coronation of Rāma as the Crown-Prince

The last days of Daśaratha were spent in so much personal distress that it must have spared him little moments for mental peace. Having already gone in for two marriages with Kauśalyā and Sumitrā, the king remained sonless for a very long time and contracted a third one with Kaikeyī,[3] the daughter of the Kekaya king, on a promise that the son born of her would succeed him.[4] We have already discussed how the king went in for a good deal of sacrificing before he got four sons. Rāma, born of Kauśalyā, was the eldest and the superiormost of all the brothers. When Daśaratha thought of preparing to renounce the world in his old age, he proposed to anoint Rāma as the crown-prince and his heir apparent.[5] The proposal was universally and highly acclaimed by all but Kaikeyī, who, instigated by her maid, Mantharā, began serious troubles for the king in as much as she reminded him of the two boons given her[6] previously and lying in store.

Daśaratha's family troubles

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1. We are informed (Pad. VI. 269.154-199 ; VR. I. Chs. 74-6) that Rāma was challenged by Paraśurāma for a fight on his way back to Ayodhyā. This is historically wrong and seems to have been naively woven in the present story, like many others, for idolising Paraśurāma as the killer of all the Kṣatriyas and as an immortal man. As a matter of fact he lived long before Rāma. The inconsistency becomes evident from the following verse of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa (IV. 4. 93).

   सकलक्षत्रक्षयकारिणमशेषहैहयकुलकेतुभूतञ्च परशुराममपास्तवीर्य-बलावलेपं चकार ।
2. Padma. VI. 269 181.
3. VR. I. Chs. 12-14 ; Raghuvamśa. X. 4.
4. Cf. Vedic Age, P. 290 ; The Rāmāyaṇa makes no reference to this stipulation.
5. VR. II. Chs. 1-2.
6. Ibid. II. 11.18-28.

Kaikeyī finally asked for the anointment of Bharata in Rāma's place and the latter's exile to the Daṇḍaka forest.[1] Daśaratha was helpless but word-bound and an old man under the amorous spell of an young and beautiful wife[2]. He could not say 'no'. To much of his chagrin, he had to yield to Rāma's exile, for which he was never prepared and on account of the intense love for his son he gave up his ghost in an heart-rending agony. His death seems to have been hastened by his fears of the prospective troubles, which lay in store for the kingdom on account of its palace-politics.

Palace-Politics

The poet Vālmīki, the Purāṇas, and the later works, which deal with the life and deeds of Rāma, give the above account so simply that nothing like any court-intrigue at Ayodhyā is easily discernible. A careful reading in between the lines, however, convinces us of its existence on questions of succession after Daśaratha. Had it not been ultimately the voluntary withdrawl of Bharata in Rāma's favour the results of the conflict might have been really sanguine. On a perusal of the Rāmāyaṇa it looks as if the hands of Daśaratha himself were not absolutely free and clean. This is proved by the choice of the time and the manner in which Rāma's anointment was proposed and tried to be hastily finished by him. He did not propose it as long as Bharata was in Ayodhyā and no sooner he went to his maternal uncle's home in Kekaya, Daśaratha began to take into confidence all sorts of people regarding his proposal to have Rāma installed in the crown-prince's position.[3] There is no doubt about the fact that Rāma was favoured by almost all the people—the ministers, Vasistha—the Purohita, the Brāhmanas, the Paurajānapadas, the Naigamas, and the

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1. Ibid. II. 11.18-27.
2. स वृद्धस्तरुणीं भार्यां प्राणेभ्योऽपिगरीयसीम् ।
   Ibid II. 10.23 ; Refer also to II. 9.24-27.
3. Cf. VR. II. Chs. 1 and 2

tributary kings.[1] The fact that Rāma was the eldest and the greatest in personal qualities must have weighed with them. But it seems that they were ignorant of the palace-politics and that is why, when the things developed. we find them aghast and passive onlookers. In fact, Daśaratha was confident of their acceptance since he is said to have taken the final decision in agreement with his ministers[2] before any general consultations began. Further, he was really afraid of some unexpected trouble[3] and so, after formal consultations were over, he decided to go in at once for the ceremony of Rāma's anointment as crown-prince without waiting for the return of Bharata and Śatrughna. What is more significant is that, while so many important kings and people from different cities and countryside were invited[4] for consultations, the kings of Kekaya and Janaka, the father-in-law of Rāma, were omitted from that list. The reason is given as lack of time, which is really hard to believe. As other kings are said to have been invited,[5] it may be asked as to what kingdom was nearer to Ayodhyā than that of Videha and its capital, Mithilā ?

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1. Ibid. II. 2.17-26.

2. तं समीक्ष्य महाराजो युक्तं समुदितैः शुभैः ।
निश्चित्य सचिवैः सार्धं यौवराज्यममन्यत ॥ Ibid. II. 2.42.

3. दिव्यान्तरिक्षे भूमौ च घोरमुत्पातजं भयम् ।
संचचक्षे च मेधावी शरीरे चात्मनोजराम् ॥ Ibid. II. 2.43.

4. नानानगरवास्तव्यान्पृथग्जानपदानपि ।
समानिनायमेदिन्याः प्रधानान् पृथिवीपतिः ॥

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न तु केकयराजानं जनकं वा नराधिपः ।
त्वरया चानयामास पश्चात्तौ श्रोष्यतः प्रियम् ॥ Ibid. II. 2 46-48.

5. So many of them came on the occassion. Cf. Ibid. II. 2,49,51.

It is clear that Aśvapati's[1] or his son's omission was diplomatic and that of Janaka was devised simply to cover that up. As the time factor was also important, the king decided to complete the ceremonies of Rāma's anointment on the very next day, when he had made up his mind.[2]

But in the intervening night came the bombshell from Kaikeyī and the king's plan got amiss. Rāma himself succumbed to the new situation and got ready to go to the Daṇḍaka forest. But his faithful brother, Lakṣamaṇa, would not easily yield.[3] Had it not been for the patience of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa's anger would have sparked something serious. What Rāma did was no doubt greatly motivated by his desire to prove his obedience and faith towards his father and step-mother Kaikeyī. But it is not impossible that he thought it fit to bide time and move the latent sympathies of the people in his favour, which he was ultimately able to thoroughly arouse. Though Bharata, after coming to Ayodhyā, found the throne vacant in the event of his father's death and Rāma's exile and thus an opportunity in his favour, he deemed discretion to be the wisest course. Sensing the popular opinion in favour of Rāma, he started for taking him back. But Rāma, perceiving that his cards were winning, thought it better to complete the term of his exile than to incur the odium of being a faithless son and decided to ask his reconciled brother, Bharata, to administer the kingdom of Kośala in his behalf.[4] That was a position which Bharata fully deserved and in which he was richly rewarded.

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1. Aśvapati and Yudhājita are two names that are applied to the Kekaya king and the Kakaya prince respectively. Cf. VR. II. 70.21 and 28.
2. श्व एव पुष्यो भविता श्वोऽभिषेच्यस्तु मे सुतः ।
   रामो राजीवपत्राक्षो युवराज इति प्रभुः ॥ Ibid. II. 4.2.
3. The protestations of Lakṣamaṇa are graphically described in VR. II. Chs. 23 and 96.
4. Ibid II. Chs. 112-3.

Reference may be made in this connection to the Pāli Dasaratha Jātaka.[1] We need not enter here into any controversy as to which of the two accounts, viz. that preserved in Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa or the one in the Dasaratha Jātaka, is prior in date and which of the two is the original source of the other.[2] It may be said without any fear of contradiction that despite their many differences both of them refer to the same sets of historical personages—Daśaratha, Rāma, Lakṣamaṇa, and Sītā. The Jātaka account seems to have wrongly confused king Daśaratha[3] of Ayodhyā with one of his namesake, who might have been ruling in Vārānasī. Further, it not only makes Rāma and Lakṣamaṇa uterine brothers but Sītā as their sister. This mistake should certainly be attributed to the knowledge of the Bddhists[4] of the system of sister-marriages prevalent in the Śākyan family of the Buddha, which they seem to have imported into the Jātaka description. Other differences are of minor significance and we are not confronted with many difficulties except those of details. The Jātaka account, however, tries to represent it as a matter of policy on the part of Daśaratha that he himself asked his two sons to leave the kingdom and come back after twelve years and occupy the throne, when he was dead.

The testiveony of the Dasaratha Jātaka

1. No. 461, Translated into English by V. Fausboll, London, Trubner and Co. 1871 ; Jātaka, Eng. Translation, Ed. by Cowell, Vol. IV

2. The problem has been discussed by many scholars, viz. Weber, 'on the Rāmāyana' ; D. C. Sen, 'The Bengali Ramayans' P. 7ff. ; Grierson, JRAS. 1922, PP. 135-139 ; Monier Williams, Indian Wisdom, P. 316 Notes ; C. V. Vaidya, The Riddle of the Rāmāyaṇa, P. 73 ; Winternitz, Hist. Ind. Lit. Vol. I. P. 508 ; Lassen, Ind. Ant. III. PP. 1002-3 ; N. B. Utgikar, JRAS. 1923 (Centenary supplement) PP. 203ff ; J. S. Bulcke, Rāmakathā (Hindi) ;PP. 75ff.

3. Refer to the Eng. Translation by V. Fausboll, PP. 13ff.

4. DN. (Bom. Uni. Pub.) Pt. I. P. 103 ; Sumangalavilāsinī, Pt. I. PP. 258ff ; Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed., Pāli) Vol. V. PP. 412ff.

The rest of the descriptions in both the sources are markedly similar[1]. Both point out to the palace-politics and court-intrigues at Ayodhyā—clearly the results of Daśaratha's boon to Kaikeyī[2]. Daśaratha is portrayed in both the accounts as a bit partial and inclined towards Rāma.[3] Again, when, after the death of the king, the younger queen asks the ministers to enthrone her son, Bharata, we are told by the Jātaka account that they oppose her[4]. This is very much similar to the account of the Rāmāyaṇa, where Kaikeyī is derisively treated[5] by all, especially Sumantra, after she makes the proposal. Bharata is in both the accounts said to have given up his case and gone to the forest to bring back Rāma, who refused to return before his term of exile was comlete on the identical plea to remain faithful to the orders of his father,[6] the deceased king. Lastly, in both the sources Bharata is asked by Rāma to rule on his behalf until the latter remains in the forest, to which the former agrees and takes back with him the wooden-sleepers[7] of Rāma as the symbol of his authority.

We may conclude that the narrative of Rāma's succession to the throne of Ayodhyā is not as simple and straightforward as the religiously inclined people of India believe it to be. A great family-quar-

Conclusion

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1. For similarity in matter and manner of the two stories refer to Bulcke's 'Rāmakathā' (Hindi) PP 77ff.; N. B Utgikar, JRAS 1923 (Centenary supplement) PP. 203ff.
2. VR, I 12 16-27; Jātaka, Cowell's Eng. Ed Vol. IV. P. 79
3. VR I. 20 11-12; II. 1.6; Jātaka, Cowell's Eng. Ed. Vol. IV. P. 79.
4. Jātaka, Ibid. P. 80.
5. VR. II. Ch. 35.
6. VR. II. 107.6-8 and Ch. 111; Jātaka, Cowell's Eng. Ed. Vol. IV· P. 81.
7. VR. II. Ch. 112; Jātaka, Ibid. P. 81.

rel,[1] which ended happily, no doubt, on account of the withdrawal of one side (that of Bharata) from the fray, was turned out later to serve an ideal. Rāma was made the central figure of the highest ideal and Daśaratha turned into an ideal father, Lakṣamaṇa and Bharata into ideal brothers and Sītā into an ideal wife. This transformation, however, is perhaps the greatest single factor leading towards the immortality of the Rāmāyṇa-story, which has been widely accepted and has continued right from Vālmīki up to the present day not only in India but also in so many other south-east Asian lands.

Rama's Exile

Daśaratha was helpless. He had to pay a heavy price in being forced by the circumstances in acceeding to the obduracy of his young, beautiful, and beloved queen, Kaikeyī. Her two terms[2] were-firstly the anointment of Bharata instead of Rāma and secondly the latter's exile to the Daṇḍaka forest for fourteen years. For none of these developments he was prepared. But Rāma, an obedient son and a skilful manager of things, at once decided to meet the whole situation squarely in a calm and calculated manner. In willingly accepting the exile and sacrificing his own personal interest in respect to the throne of Ayodhyā and temporarily withdrawing from its lure, he seems to have thought out a plan of totally disarming his opponents by arousing the latent sympathies of practically the whole realm in his favour. Having decided upon that course, he proceeded to the Daṇḍaka forest with Lakṣamana, his obedient younger brother, and Sītā, his faithful wife. All this happened to the great displeasure and remorse of not

His Composure

1. Rāma himself is made to give vent to his feelings, when he suspects Kaikeyī's conduct in his absence and is shown as afraid about the safety of Daśaratha, whom she might kill, or about his own mother as well as that of Lakṣamaṇa's mother, whom she might poison. Cf. VR. II. Ch. 53.

2. VR. II. Chs. 33,38 and 41.

only those, who counted in the Kośalan state-King Daśaratha, his queens except Kaikeyī, the ministers, the Purohita Vasiṣṭha, and other Brāhmaṇas, but also of the general mass of the inhabitants of Ayodhyā[1]. Some of his loving subjects tried to follow the prince in his exile with the object of persuading him to return, but all their entreaties failed. They had to come back to Ayodhyā disappointed, when Rāma took them unawares and quietly slipped away. In order to avoid them, the prince adopted a zig-zag course[2].

The course of Rāma's march to the forest

Having started from Ayodhyā, Rāma reached the bank of Tamasā,[3] the modern Tons,[4] at the end of the first day of his journey. He crossed that river and went in the direction of the north to delude those, who tried to follow him. Then again he turned back[5] and proceeded in the direction of the south. Thence going forward in the southern direction he crossed the rivers Vedaśruti, Gomatī, and the Syandikā (the modern Sai) respectively and reached the confines of the Kośalan kingdom[6]. It is difficult to mark in our present maps the points at which he crossed all these rivers. Gradually he proceeded towards the Gaṅgā, on whose bank lay the kingdom of Guha, the king of the Niṣādas (some forest tribe), with its capital at Śṛiṅgaverapura,[7] that was not far from Prayāga. The Nisāda king expressed his friendship and

1. Ibid. II. Chs. 40 and 45.
2. Ibid. II. Chs. 46-7
3. Ibid. II. 45 32.
4. N L. Dey. Geog. Dict. P. 202.
5. VR. II 46 30-1.
6. Ibid. II. 49 9-13.
7. A. Cunningham identified it with modern Singor or Singror, 22 miles to the north-west of Allahabad on the left bank of the river Gaṅgā. Vide Arch. Sur. Ind. Rep. Vol. XI. P. 62 and Vol. XXI. P. 11; Pargiter did not believe that there was any Niṣāda kingdom since the territories described comprised the Vatsa kingdom. Vide. AIHT. P. 276.

submission and welcomed Rāma by presenting himself before him in the company of his ministers and the old people of his kingdom.[1] Having crossed the Gaṅgā, he reached the Vatsa kingdom[2] and then a bit east towards Prayāga, where lay the hermitage of Sage Bhāradvāja at the confluence of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā[3]. On the advice of that sage, he followed the upper course of the river Yamunā for some distance. Having crossed it on a float of rafters, he established his temporary habitation on the Chitrakūṭa[4] mountain. There he was met by Bharata, who, having disapproved of all that had been done by Kaikeyī for his sake, came to persuade him to return to Ayodhyā. Rāma did not stay on the Chitrakūta for long after his meeting with Bharata. He started soon for the Daṇḍaka forest and met sage Atri and his religious wife, Anusūyā, in the way[5]. Taking a south-westernly route he must have crossed the Narmadā and reached the place, which, according to Mr. Pargiter, is the modern Chhattisagarh district. There he lived for ten years.

The Daṇdaka forest had not yet been completely made fit for civilized human habitation, though there used to live

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1. तत्र राजा गुहो नाम रामस्यात्मसमः सखा ।
निषादजात्यो बलवान् स्थपतिश्चेति विश्रुतः ।।
स श्रुत्वा पुरुषव्याघ्र राम विषयमागतम् ।
वृद्धैःपरिवृत्तोऽमात्यैर्ज्ञातिभिश्चाप्युपागतः ॥ VR. II 50 33-4

2. Ibid. II, 25.100-101,

3. Ibid. II 54.2,7-8. The Padma (VI. 269.193 and 211-2) Puts the hermitage of Bhāradvāja at Chitrakūṭa.

4. Chitrakūṭa is identified (C. V. Vaidya. The Riddle of the Rāmāyaṇa P. 267) with a hill which adjoins a station of the same name on the Jhansi Manikpur Railway line.

5. VR. III. 5.3 ; Pad. VI 269.212.

many ascetics and sages in it like Śarabhaṅga[1] Sutīkṣna[2], Gautama[3], and Agastya[4]. They had established their hermitages here and there. The most noted and respected of them was sage Agastya, whom the Indian tradition believes to be the standard-bearer of the north Indian culture to the Deccan and the south.[5] Unfortunately, the Ṛiṣis were severely troubled in their penances and sacrifices and thus tested in their patience by the jungle tribes of those regions, usually styled as Rākṣasas or Niśācharas. The presence of Rāma in their vicinity was held by them as a great saving feature and a source of protection[6]. At the request of Agastya he stayed at Pañchavatī, situated on the bank of the Godāvarī.[7]

Colonization of the Daṇḍaka forest

Rāma's exile brought him in contact not only with those sages of repute but also with their adversaries, the Rāksasas. They seem to have been either uncivilized or only half-civilized aboriginal tribes of the Deccan and the south, who had their chief settlement in Lankā (Ceylon). By the time he came in their contact—and that proved to be the real test of his forest-life, he had probably spent much of the term of his pretty long exile[8].

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1. VR. III. 5 3 ; Pad. VI 269.212.
2. Ibid. III. 7.1 ; Pad. VI 269 220
3. Ibid. III. 7.15 ; Pad. VI. 269 222
4. Ibid. III. 11.38-42 ; Pad. VI. 269.222 and 223.
5. निर्जिता जीवलोकस्य तपसा भवितात्मना ।
   अगस्त्येन दुराधर्षा मनुना दक्षिणेवदिक् ॥ VR. VI. 118-14.
6. Thus said Śarabhaṅga to Rāma :—
   ततस्त्वां शरणाथ च शरण्यं समुपस्थिताः ।
   परिपालय नो राम वध्यमानान्निशाचरैः ॥ Ibid. III. 6 19.
7. Ibid. III 13,19-21 and Ch 15 ; Ag. 7.3 ; Mbh. III. 277.41 ; Pad. VI 269.223.
8. कालोऽयं गतभूयिष्ठो यः कालस्तव राघव ।
   समयो यो नरेन्द्रेण कृतो दशरथेन ते ॥ VR. III. 13.15.
   The Padma Purāṇa says (VI. 269.226) that thirteen years had already passed.

Conflict with the Rākṣasas

The Rākṣasas had made a hell of the life of the ascetic sages, who impressed upon Rāma the necessity of their extermination. The Rākṣasas[1] seem to have been hardly cultured, though not perfectly uncivilized[2]. Having established their seat in and about Janasthāna[3] on the lower course of the river Godāvarī, they continued to harass the Ṛiṣis northwards and often made the performance of their penances difficult, well nigh impossible. Rāma could not expect to be let alone by them and his struggle with them began atonce. It was initiated by the desire of Śūrpaṇakhā (the sister of Rāvaṇa, the Rākṣasa king of Laṅkā) to get Rāma's love.[4] The latter, coming to know of the real nature of that Rākṣasī who could change her face and identity as desired, asked Lakṣamana to punish her, which he did by chopping off her nose and ears.[5] Having learnt of the event, her brothers, Khara and Dūṣaṇa, got severely enraged, gave battle to Rāma and Lakṣamaṇa, and were killed alongwith their numerous[6] followers including Triśirā.

Rākṣasa, Depredations

Perceiving the end of his brothers and their army, Śūr-

1 VR. III. Chs. 6 and 10.

2 The description in the Rāmāyaṇa (V Chs 4ff) of the grandeur of Lankā surpasses ordinary proportions probably because of the poet's desire to show the greatness of the enemy, which an exiled prince, Rāma, conquered. Re'er also Mbh- III. 274 16-17

3. Mbh. III. 277 42.

4. VR. III Ch. 17 ; Padma. VI. 269.242-3.

5. VR. III 18 21 ; Padma. VI. 269.244.

6 VR. III. Chs 20-31 ; Mbh. III. 227.43. Before Śūrpaṇakhā complained to Rāvaṇa, as many as fourteen thousand Rākṣasas had been killed by Rāma Vide. VR. III. 32 1 and Mbh. III. 277.43 ; Padma VI. 269.247-9.

paṇakhā proceeded to Laṅkā and represented to Rāvaṇa.[1] she painted everything that had happened as calamity and induced him to take revenge of the treatment meted out[2] to her. Thus being severely instigated, Rāvana decided to stealthily abduct Sītā by employing another Rākṣasa,[3] Mārīcha, who could change his form as desired. The latter having formed himself into a golden deer, attracted the eyes of Sītā, who sent Rāma to catch it.[4] Mārīcha made Rāma follow him for a long distance and then imitating Rāma's voice made a great shriek, which prompted Sītā to send Lasamaṇa to Rāma's help.[5] Rāvana found the opportunity, entered Rāma's cottage in the disguise of an ascetic and forcibly abducted Sītā to Lankā,[6] the capital of his island kingdom. All his proposals, entreaties, and threats to Sītā to induce her to become his queen having failed with that great lady, who would think of none else than Rāma in her dreams even, he allowed her a year's time[7] to think afresh and forget her past. It must, however, be said to his great credit that *Rāvana* did not employ his animal force to turn an unwilling Sītā into one more embellishment of his harem and that conduct is a great commentary on the moral aspect of his behaviour, which has not been otherwise held in any high esteem in Indian tradition.

Sītā's Abduction

1. Mr Pargiter believed that Rāvana was probably not a personal name, "but a Sanskritized form of the Tamil word ireivan or iraivan, 'God, king, Sovereign, Lord". JRAS 1914. P. 285 and AIHT. PP 242 (note) and 277.
2. VR. III Chs. 32-3 ; Mbh. III. 277 44-53.
3. VR. III. Chs. 33-42 ; Mbh. III 278 1-14 ; Padma VI. 269.250-1,
4. VR III. Chs 44-45 ; Mbh. III 278 14-18.
5. VR. III. Chs. 44-45 ; Mbh. III. 278 19-30
6. VR. III. Chs. 46-54 ; Mbh. III. 278.31 to 279.12 ; Padma VI. 269 255.
7. VR. III. Ch. 56.

Sītā's abduction left Rāma to face perhaps the greatest test and predicament of his exiled life. Confronted with a great humiliation and challenge, he almost lost himself in sorrowful wailings[1] at first but regained his usual composure soon. He proceeded not only to find out her whereabouts but also of the enemy, who carried her away. Taking a south-westernly route he reached the Ṛsyamūka mountain near the Pampā lake, where lived Sugrīva, the Vānara king of Kiṣkindhā. Sugrīva had been ousted from his throne by his powerful brother Vālin, and he had been biding his time[2] there with some of his trusted followers including Hanumāna. Rāma at once made friends with them,[3] killed Vālin,[4] and reinstated Sugrīva on the throne of Kiskindhā.[5] Gratified at the great good done to him by Rāma, Sugrīva later proved to be of great help in finding out Sītā in which his hosts, the Vānaras,[6] came to his assistance in every possible way.

The Search for Sītā

Before Rāma could proceed in search of Sītā, he had to wait for a full rainy season on the Mālyavāna hill[7] Later he was able to know from Hanumāna, the chief of the Vānara-messengers of Sugrīva, about Sītā's captivity in Lankā, i.e.,

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1. VR III Chs 62-3.
2. Ibid III 73.11—12; 75.6-8 and IV. Chs 4,9, and 10; Mbh. III. 269 43 to 280.1; The Ṛṣyamūka must have been somewhere on the Malaya peaks, since Sugrīva is said to have gone there for fear of Vālin. (VR. IV. 2.14 and 5.1.)
3. VR IV. Ch. 5, Mbh. III 280.11.
4. VR. IV 16.32-9; Padma. VI. 269.279-81
5. VR. IV. Ch. 26 ; Mbh. III. 280.13.
6. The Vānaras were no monkeys but a Semi-civilized forest-tribe, called by that name because of their monkeyish appearance, who lived in the south. Cf. C. V. Vaidya. 'The Riddle of the Rāmāyna P. 153; Mr. Pargiter (AIHT. P. 278) thought them to be a Dravidian people, akin to the Rākṣasas of Lankā. Kālidāsa (Raghuvamśa, XIII. 74) says that the Vānaras changed their forms at will and became men on the orders of Rāma.
7. VR. IV. Chs. 27-8; Mbh. III. 280.40; Agni. 8.5.

Ceylon. That was an information, which other Vānaras had taken pains to collect after traversing all the directions—east, south, west, and north,[1] but had failed. Hanumāna had flown to Laṅkā, we are told, to find out Sītā and came back with the information after causing much destruction and creating severe terror in the hearts of the Rākṣasas.[2]

War with Rāvaṇa and conquest of Ceylon

Rāvaṇa was a great challenge, which Rāma met bravely. The description, which the Rāmāyaṇa gives[3] of his fortifications of Laṅkā and the prosperity of his subjects, suggests his immense fighting power. Rāma attacked him with his great Vānara-army after having bridged the sea,[4] which suggests the shallowness of the waters[5] on the one hand and a comparatively small distance between the then southern tip of India and Lankā on the other. Rāvana's taking Sītā to Lankā through the sky and Hanumāna's going there in a similar manner later, seem to be flights of fancy, and as Mr. Pargiter thought[6] (about Rāvaṇa), it is not improbable that the two might have crossed the sea in small vessels. It is futile to enter here into any discussion of the supernatural

1. VR IV. Chs. 40-43; Mbh III. 282. 23-5.
2. VR. Kd. V; Padma. VI 269 282-8.
3. Ibid. VI· Ch. 3, Refer also to Mbh. III. 284.2-8.
4. Kālidāsa (vide-Raghuvamśa XIII.2) says that the bridge connected Laṅkā with the Malaya mountain on the Indian coast It is traditionally believed by the Hindus that Rāma crossed the sea at Rāmeśvaram, one of their most sacred 'Dhāmas' and visited by vast numbers every year as the site of the famous Setubandha (the building of Rāma's bridge) VR. VI. 126.15.
5. The shallowness of the sea is suggested by the Mbh. where it is said :—

   स यत् काष्ठ तृणं वाऽपि शिला वा क्षेप्स्यते मयि ।
   सर्वं तद्धारयिष्यामि स ते सेतुर्भविष्यति ॥ III. 283.42
6. AIHT. P. 278. note 2.

details of the war between the two heroes in which Rāvaṇa, the Rākṣasa king, lost all including his life, and Rāma won it after great hardship. The latter was greatly helped by Rāvaṇa's brother, Vibhīṣaṇa, whom the Rāmāyaṇa depicts as a pious and upright man He had already declared[1] the case of the Rākṣasa-king as lost because of his immoral behaviour in abducting Sītā on the one hand and the superhuman power of Rāma and Lakṣamaṇa on the other. Further, he had advised Rāvaṇa to return[2] Sītā and make peace with Rāma.

Enthronement of Vibhīṣaṇa

Having won the war against Rāvaṇa and his Rākṣasa-hordes of Laṅkā, Rāma did not propose to establish his direct rule over that island-kingdom. Even if he had so tried, the attempt would have surely proved abortive. The long distance and the consequent lack of control, communication and succour from his own central seat of government, Ayodhyā, would have made it simply impossible. It was wise on his part then to remain satisfied with a 'Dharmavijaya' and give back the throne of Lankā to some one of the important Rākṣasa chiefs. Vibhīṣaṇa was the obvious choice. He had already taken Rāma's side in the war and deserved an adequate reward. It seems, he had changed sides not for any ultimate good of his brother, Rāvaṇa, to which he is apparently made to swear in the Rāmāyaṇa,[3] but with a view to finally getting the throne of Laṅkā for himself. In as much as he had conveyed the secrets[4] of the military preparations of Rāvaṇa to Rāma,

1 VR. VI. Chs. 13-15.

2. Ibid. VI. Chs 9 and 10.

3. VR. VI. Chs. 14-16.

4. Ibid. VI. Chs. 17-19, particularly VI. 19.6-19. That his eyes were on the throne of Lankā is once more proved (VR. VI. 50.18) when he says :—

ययोर्वीर्यमुपाश्रित्य प्रतिष्ठा काङ्क्षिता मया ।
तावुभौ देहनाशाय प्रसुप्तौ पुरुषर्षभौ ॥

It may be noted in this respect that Kumbhakarṇa is portrayed in a better light in as much as that, though he disapproved of Rāvaṇa's actions (Ibid. VI. 12.29-40), he did not forsake his cause.

he proved treacherous to his own land. Having accepted the superiority and supremacy of Rāma, he must have expected good returns and when his own brother, Rāvaṇa, was killed, he was rewarded in his elevation to the throne of Laṅkā. He was made the new leader of the Rākṣasa-hordes, a dependent and obedient ally of the victor. On Rāma's orders, Lakṣamaṇa ceremoniously coronated Vibhīṣaṇa as the king of Laṅkā[1] and the latter at once showed his dependence by making suitable presents to the former.[2]

Rāma's Reunion with Sītā and return to Ayodhyā

Having won that sanguine war against Rāvana and after Vibhīṣana's enthronement at Laṅkā, Rāma met Sītā. We are told that the great lady had to undergo a fire-test[3] to prove her purity and to satisfy not Rāma, her husband, alone, but the vast number of his followers as well. Discarding the super-human and the supernatural in this account, it may be reasonably accepted that Sitā had been put to very difficult tests and severe personal discomfiture-styled figuratively by Vālmīki to be a fire-test, which not only revived her great honour but enhanced her prestige all the more.

The Fire-test

By the time Rāma and Lakṣamana had been able to redeem their honour against the Rākṣasas and establish their reunion with Sītā, the period of their exile was over.[4] So

1. ततस्त्वेक घट गृह्य संस्थाप्य परमासने ।
घटेन तेन सौमित्रिरभ्यषिंचद्विभीषणम् ॥ VR. VI 115 14.
and
दृष्ट्वाभिषिक्तं लङ्कायां राक्षसेन्द्र विभीषणम् ।
स तद्राज्यं महत् प्राप्य रामदत्तं विभीषणः ॥ Ibid. VI. 115-17.
2. Ibid. VI. 115. 18-20
3. Ibid. VI Chs 118-9, Mbh. III. 291 21—35; Pad. VI. 269-338-340.
4. सम्पूर्णानीह वर्षाणि चतुर्दश महाद्युते ।
Mbh. III. 291.39 ; see also VR. VI. 122 20-2.

Rāma returned to Ayodhyā to begin his great career as a ruler of eternal fame.

Rāma's Coronation as king

Even when he was spending his fourteen years of exile, Rāma had been accepted as the real sovereign of Kośala and Bharata faithfully held the reins of its government on his behalf. He ruled from Nandigrāma,[1] that was not far from the capital, Ayodhyā. Rāma, while coming to Ayodhyā, was received by Bharata at Nandigrāma with an expression of great personal and general happiness.[2] Then, crossing the river Gomatī[3] with his vast retinue somewhere near that improvised capital, the prince reached Ayodhyā to the very great joy and satisfaction of all his subjects. Bharata handed over to him the symbols of authority, the wooden-sleepers that he (Rāma) had given him at Chitrakūṭa, and formally gave up the reins of the Ayodhyā kingdom.[4] Rāma was formally coronated as king by the Brāhmana Ṛitvijas,[5] led by Vasiṣṭha. We are told by Vālmīki that for the ceremonial sprinkling of his coronation the waters of the four seas on the four sides and 500 rivers of the country were brought.[6] Besides the eminent Brāhmanas, unmarried girls, ministers, commanders of the army, the people of the capital, and the members of the Nigama (of the capital) sprinkled him with the

1. VR. I. 1 39 ; II. Ch. 115 , Pad VI 269. 350-1.
2. VR VI. 130 3-8 ; Pad VI 269 356-7.
3. VR. VI. 130 27
4. व्याकोशानिव पद्मानि ददर्श भरताग्रजः ।
पादुके ते तु रामस्य गृहीत्वा भरतः स्वयम् ॥
चरणाभ्यां नरेन्द्रस्य योजयामास धर्मवित् ।
अब्रवीच्च तदा राम भरतः स कृताञ्जलिः ॥
एतत्ते रक्षितं राजन् राज्य निर्यातितं मया ।
अद्यजन्मकृतार्थं मे संवृत्तश्च मनोरथ: ॥ Ibid. VI. 130.52-4.
5. Ibid. VI. 131.59-67 ; Pad. VI. 270.3.
6. VR. VI. 131.54-60.

coronation waters.[1] Amongst many others, Sugrīva, the Vānara king of Kiṣkindhā and Vibhīṣaṇa, the Rākṣasa protege of Rāma and the king of Laṅkā, held over him the royal umbrella.[2] We are also informed at another place[3] that Janaka, the Videhan king of Mithilā ; the maternal uncle of Bharata and the prince of Kekaya ; Pratardana, the king of Kāśi ; and 300 other kings were present at his coronation. This sufficiently proves that Bharata had been an eminent success in keeping intact the power, prestige, and political supremacy of the Kośalan kingdom, bequeathed to him after the death of king Daśaratha and during Rāma's absence in the Dandaka forest. Rāma on his own part fittingly recognised the great services of Lakṣamaṇa to him and proposed the great dignity of the crown - prince for him. That brave but humble prince refused the honour, and then it devolved on Bharata,[4] who very richly deserved it.

Rāma's Administration

The Indian tradition of true rulership was so much embodied in Rāma that his administration has been generally accepted from the ages past as an ideal and standard for good governance, and 'Rāma-rājya' is used as a byword for the same. He was great amongst the greatest of the solar kings of Ayodhyā in many respects. His wide conquests and political influence led perhaps for the first time to the cultural unification of India as a whole. He showed personal bravery with a high moral character, maintained ideal relationships, and enjoyed

The Ideals of Rāmarājya

1. ऋत्विग्भिर्ब्राह्मणैः पूर्वं कन्याभिर्मन्त्रिभिस्तथा ।
   योधैश्चैवाभ्यषिंचंस्ते संप्रहृष्टाः सनैगमैः । Ibid. VI. 135-62.
2. छत्रं तु तस्य जग्राह शत्रुघ्नः पाण्डरं शुभम् ।
   श्वेतं च वालव्यजनं सुग्रीवो वानरेश्वरः ॥
   अपरं चन्द्रसंकाशं राक्षसेन्द्रो विभीषणः । Ibid. VI. 131 68 9.
3. Ibid. VII 38.2,13 16 and 21.
4. VR. VI. 131.92-3.

a long and prosperous reign. He was the greatest of all, however, in point of love, respect, and high admiration, which he commanded at the hands of not only his ministers, family members, the court people, and other high dignitaries of the State but also of the general mass of his subjects. This can be attributed primarily to one thing and that was the great personal example he set as a ruler, sometimes at very great cost to his own private happiness.

It had been the ideal of the solar kings that they treated their subjects with the same affection and care that a father bestows on his own progeny.[1] Rāma went much farther and changed himself into a real servant of the people. With that sense of service he took upon himself all the responsibilities regarding the maintenance of what was Dharma—Dharma judged not by the present-day standards but by those that were prevalent in his days. It was the Dharma of a son to obey his elders without any questioning,[2] which led him to the hard life of the Dandaka forest. It was the duty of a Ksatriya to protect the weak and beseechful Ṛṣis from the wicked and powerful Rākṣasas that made them his sworn enemies and forced him to face the temporary loss of his faithful wife, Sītā. It was again the enforcement of the then social order[3] (the Varnāśrama Dharma) that prompted him to take up arms and kill[4] the Śūdra penancer, Śambūka. The latter, according to the prevalent social rules,

1. Daśaratha once said to his assembled court :—
विदितं भवतामेतद्यथा मे राज्यमुत्तमम् ।
पूर्वकैर्ममराजेन्द्रैसुंतवत्परिपालितम् ॥ VR. II. 2.4
Again the subjects themselves said about Rāma :—
यो नः सदा पालयति पिता पुत्रानिवौरसान् ।
कथं रघूणां स श्रेष्ठस्त्यक्त्वा नो विपिनं गतः ॥ Ibid. II. 47.6.
2. VR. II. Ch. 19 ; 104.18-22 ; 107.3ff. ; 109.24ff. etc.
3. Cf. Beni Pd. 'The State in Ant. India'. 1928. P. 11.
4. VR. VII. 76.4.

was hardly authorized in that course and his conduct, it was believed, was responsible for the untimely death[1] of a Brāhmaṇa's son. The sense of duty - the duty of a king, who acted as a judge also, to punish the offender, found itself stronger than his senee of love and gratefulness, and a man of the standing of Lakṣamaṇa, so near and dear to him, was meted out the punishment[2] of being declared an exile with a warning not to go amiss with Dharma (Mābhūddharmaviparyayah).

Sītā's second exile

Rāma had a unique sense of respect for public opinion. It would be almost impossible to find from any country or time a parallel of his behaviour born of that sense, It was this sense, which had forced him to mete out a harsh treatment to his beloved and faithful wife and queen, Sītā, in throwing her away into a forest[3] (and that too at the time of her pregnancy). This was simply to allay the idle gossips of the people[4] about her purity and Rāma's keeping her with him after her forced living amongst the Rākṣasas in Laṅkā. His behaviour, such as this, has found strong critics in all lands. Sometimes modern and old conceptions are mixed in judging the same. Rāma's exemplary rulership, however, stands out pr-eminent. There is absolutely no doubt that he did not and could not believe those idle gossips prevalent about Sītā's purity even for a moment. He was perfectly convinced about her high character.[5] She

1. अद्य तप्यतिदुर्बुद्धिस्तेन बालवधोह्ययम् ।
   योह्यधर्मकार्यं वा विषये पार्थिवस्य च ।। Ibid. VII. 74 29
2. विसर्जये त्वां सौमित्रे माभूद्धर्मविपर्ययः ।
   त्यागो वधो वा विहितः साधूना तु भय समम् । Ibid. VII. 106.13.
3. VR. VII. Chs. 43-49 graphically describe how Sītā was thrown away in a forest as a result of idle gossips about her purity.
4. Ibid. VII. 43.17-20.
5. The great psy chological tussle in his mind is clearly visible, when he is shown, having decided the deportation of Sītā to the forest, to have given the orders to Lakṣamana to that

[Footnote to be contd. on P. 189]

had, on her own part, even refused to see Rāvaṇa in his eyes,[1] and disallowed Hanumāna, when he first went to Laṅkā to find out her whereabouts, to carry her back to Rāma on his shoulders. The plea was that she could not willingly touch the body of any person other than Rāma.[2] Above all, she had proved her purity before Rāma himself in a fire-test.[3] But for Rāma, the king, the question was not as to what was right or what was wrong. It was a test of the confidence of the people in him. What was involved was not an individual's censure of an individual's conduct but the lack of approval of what the leader of the people, the king, had done. In an age of personal and private liberty like the one we live in, the question could have been easily brushed aside as something not public but private and hence non-cognizable. But for Rāma even the slightest slur was a serious affair. He had taken special care to secretly collect public opinion[4] about his rule and was convinced that his prestige was getting sullied. So he at once decided to forsake his personal happiness and sacrifice the same at the altar of public confidence by sending Sītā to the forest—thus setting an example, whose parallel shall always be searched in vain.

An idyllic description of the salutary effects of Rāma's benevolent rule, the 'Rāmarājya', is furnished by the

[contd] effect. He took a promise from that faithful brother, Lakṣamaṇa, whom he had never checked before from saying what he desired, to make no representation on Sitā's behalf whatsoever on that occasion, until his orders were obeyed. VR. VII. 45.19 says :—

शीघ्रमागच्छ भद्रं ते कुरुष्व वचनं मम ।

न चास्मिन् प्रतिवक्तव्यः सीतां प्रति कथंचन ॥

1. Ibid. V. 21.1-13.
2. Ibid. V 37.62-4.
3. Ibid. VI. Chs. 119-120.
4. Vālmiki graphically describes (VR. VII. Ch. 43) as to how Rāma sent out one of his trusted messengers as a spy, who reported the public-opinion without any fear.

The Rāmāyanic account of Rāmarājya

Rāmāyāṇa of Vālmīki. Though it cannot be claimed that the poetic admiration of that ideal monarch is literally true in all its details, yet we may rightly agree to the tradition, on which that portrayal is based. What is important here is the proper valuation of the efforts of that law-upholding monarch, who had a perfect social conscience. His efforts were all directed towards the good of the people. The Rāmāyaṇa says[1] that "While Rāma ruled, no woman was widowed, there were no fears from snakes and diseases, there were no thefts, the youngers did not die before their elders, all people were religious, there were no mutual troubles, the people lived for a thousand years after having separately begotten a thousand sons, everywhere the fame of Rāma and his good deeds were sung, the trees always blossomed and were full of fruits, there were plenty of rainfalls with proper winds, the four Varṇas remained always engaged in their respective duties and not those of others, the subjects were religious and truthful, and all were of good import and purpose. Over such a people Rāma ruled and presided over their destinies for ten thousand years".

There is no doubt about the conclusion that Rāma's reign was the golden age of the history of the solar dynasty of Ayodhyā, and material prosperity, social happiness, political peace, and religious activities reached their highest peak in his days.

World-conquest and Aśvamedha

Rāma probably did not make any attempt at new conquests till he was quite old. Any way, he seized upon some opportunities. Though he had no intention to extend the boundaries of Kośala itself, he decided to find out new territories for his brothers and their sons and also to instal them in those

The conquest of North-Western India

1. VI. 131.98-106.

regions as sovereigns. The first of his opportunities came through the invitation of Aśvapati[1] (Bharata's maternal grandfather, the Kekaya king) to make a conquest of the territories of the Gandharvas on the two sides of the river Sindhu.[2] Rāma readily accepted the friendly approach of the Kekaya king[3] and sent Taksa and Puṣkala, the two sons of Bharata, under the latter's leadership to accomplish the task of the proposed conquest. They were able to do the same with the help and assistance of the Kekaya king.[4] That Bharata conquered the Gāndhāra country for his two sons is known from the Purāṇas[5] also. We are also informed[6] that his two sons Taksa and Puṣkala established and ruled from two new cities, Taksaśilā and Puṣkalāvatī respectively.

Laksamana had two sons, Aṅgada and Chandraketu, and Rāma tried to find out new territories for them[7] also. New

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1 Aśvapati and Yudhājita have been used in the Rāmāyana as names of the father, the Kekaya king, and his son respectively. Cf. VR II 70.21 and 28.

2 युधाजित् प्रीति संयुक्तं श्रूयतां यदि रोचते ।
श्रयं गन्धर्वविषयः फलमूलोपशोभितः ॥
सिन्धोरुभयतः पार्श्वे देशः परमशोभनः ।
तं च रक्षन्ति गन्धर्वा सायुधा युद्धकोविदाः ॥
शैलूषस्य च सुतावीर त्रिकोट्यो वै महाबलाः ।
तान् विनिर्जित्य काकुत्स्थ गन्धर्वनगरं शुभम् ॥ Ibid. VII. 100.10-12.

3. Ibid. VII. 100.15-17.

4. Ibid. VII. 100 20-25, 101 2 and 10-11.

5. Vāyu 88 190; Bd. III. 63.190-1; Viṣnu. IV. 4.100; Pad. V. 35.24 and VI 271 10; Agni. 11.7-8.

6. Ibid. Raghuvamśa. XV. 88-9; VR. VII. 101.10-11; The Vāyu Purāṇa says :—
तक्षस्य दिक्षु विख्याता रम्या तक्षशिला पुरी ।
पुष्करस्यापि वीरस्य विख्याता पुष्करावती ॥ 88.190.

7. VR. VII. 102.2-3.

regions, which do not seem to have been sufficiently colonised and inhabited as yet, were conquered down the slopes of the great Himālaya.[1] The Kārāpatha or Kārupatha country was reserved for Aṅgada, who was coronated in a new city (capital), Aṅgadīyā.[2] Chandraketu, the Malla, was enthroned in the Malla country - the regions of the famous Mallas[3] of the Buddhist days, with Chandrakāntā[4] or Chandrachakrā[5] as his capital.

North Indian Conquests

Śatrughna, the youngest brother of Rāma, conquered the regions round Mathurā. The Rāmāyaṇa states that on being requested by the Ṛṣis,[6] who were greatly harassed by Lavana,[7] the son of Madhu of Madhupura, Rāma sent Śatrughna to punish and kill that 'Daitya' and establish a new kingdom there for

Sūraśena Conquered

1. Rāma had proposed to Bharata (VR VII. 102 3-4) to look out for a pleasant country, in which they would not have to counter many difficulties
2. Ibid VII 102 5,7-8
3. See Ch. VII in this connection.
4. VR VII. 102 9 It may be noted here that Mr. Pargiter believed (AIHT. P 278) that Angadiyā and Chandrakāntā were 'both in Kārāpatha Deśa'. There is, no doubt, a faint suggestion at one place in the Rāmāyana (VII 102.5-6) and also in the Raghuvamśa (XV 90) that both the cities were in Kārāpatha but the verses that follow (VR VII 102 7-9) make it clear that Kārupatha, i e., Kārāpatha and Mallabhūmi were two different regions. The Purānas support the position that they were separate localities. Vide—Vāyu 88.187-8, Bḍ. III. 63 189.
5. Bḍ. III 63 189, Vāyu calls it Chandravaktrā (88 188); The Padma Purāna (V. 35 24) is right once in keeping the two regions in the east but at another place (VI 271-11) wrongly puts them in the Madra Deśa.
6. VR. VII. Chs 60-1.
7. Ibid. VII. 60 3 and 18 ; 62.3. Lavana is wrongly called a Daitya in these references. Really speaking he was a Yādava. Cf. Pargiter, AIHT. P. 170.

himself.[1] Śatrughna started with a great army, which crossed the Gaṅgā river and, having reached there in a month[2], performed his task of conquest and slaying of Lavaṇa.[3] He established his headquarters in Madhurā, i e., Mathurā, situated on the (western) bank of the river Yamunā in a semicircle. Thus the region was freed for the Śūrasena family.[4] The Purānas[5] support the Rāmāyaṇa and add that Subāhu and Śūrasena, the two sons of Śatrughna, protected the new conquests - evidently after the latter came back to Ayodhyā. Kālidāsa in his Raghuvamśa[6] seems to have erred in saying that Śatrughna's two sons, Śatrughātin (more of a title than a name) and Subāhu were established in Mathurā and Vidiśā respectively.

The above references make it clear that Mathurā became the capital of Śatrughna and his two sons, Subāhu and Śūrasena, ruled in the region, called Śūrasena after the latter's name, for some time. They could not, however, continue there for long, and seem to have been thrown out by Bhīma Sātvata [7]

Rāma was a great sacrificer. He once proposed a Rājasūya[8] but, on the advice of Bharata, desisted from its performance

1 Ibid VII 63 16

2 Ibid VII 64 11 and 65 Mr Pargiter thought that Śatrughna marched round Prayāga. Vide AIHT. P 279

3. VR VII 69 37 , Padma. VI. 271 9.

4 VR. VII 70.5, 9. and 11.

5 माधवं लवणं हत्वा गत्वा मधुवनं च तत् ।
शत्रुघ्नेन पुरी तत्र मथुरा विनिवेशिता ।।
सुबाहुः शूरसेनश्च शत्रुघ्नस्य च सुतावुभौ ।
पालयामासतुस्तौ तु वैदेह्यौ मथुरां पुरीम् ।।
Vāyu 88 185-6 ; Bḍ. III. 63 186-7 , Refer also to Viṣ. IV 4.101 ; Bhāg. IX 11 14 , Agni 11.6-7 ; Padma VI. 271 9 ; Varāha Purāna. 178 1.

6 XV. 36

7 Cf Pargiter AIHT. P. 279

8. VR. VII. 83.3 ff.

for the reason—a lame one it seems—that a large number of kings would have to be uprooted from the earth. It was decided at last that an Aśvamedha, a sacrifice that was deemed more religious and a greater purifier from sins, be performed.[1] Preparations for its fulfilment on a grand scale were duly made,[2] and the sacrificial altar was created in the famous Naimisa forest on the banks of the Gomatī.[3] Sugrīva, the Vānara king of Kiṣkindhā ; Vibhīsana, the Rāksasa king of Laṅkā; and a number of others, who were friendly to the Ayodhyā kingdom, were invited[4] to witness the sacrifice. A vast amount of wealth was distributed by way of alms and gifts. We are also informed that Vālmīki[5] sent to this sacrifice the two sons of Rāma, Kuśa and Lava,[6] born of Sītā, who had long been exiled for fear of public censure. It is said that the sage also came with Sītā later.

The performance of Aśvamedha

The Padma Purāna informs[7] that Rāma was the performer of many other sacrifices-Aśvamedhas,[8] Vājapeyas, Agnistoma,

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1. अश्वमेधो महायज्ञः पावनः सर्वपाप्मनाम् ।
पावनस्तवदुर्धर्षो रोचता रघुनन्दन ॥ Ibid. VII. 84 2
The Saura. also says (30 67) that the sacrifice was an Aśvamedha.
2. Ibid. VII Ch 91
3. यज्ञवाटश्च महान् गोमत्या नैमिषे वने ।
VR. VII 91.15 ; Refer also to Padma VI 271. 13-14.
4. VR VII 91 9-11.
5. Vālmiki, who is mentioned in this connection, seems to have been confused by later redactors of the Rāmāyana with the author of that famous epic, who came quite later. The former must have been some earlier sage. It is hardly possible that, as the Rāmāyana says (VII. 94 25), Rāma's story had been versified before his death itself.
6. VR. VII. Chs. 94-97.
7. VI 271.15-16
8. An unbelievable number, an Ayuta, i. e., ten thousand, is given for his Aśvamedhas. Ibid.

Viśvajita, Gomedha, and the Śatakratu. Some room may be allowed for exaggeration on the part these late Paurāṇika accounts. But it may be safely concluded tht Rāma was a highly religious ruler and performed sacrifices on many occasions.

The end : The division of the kingdom

It has already been described how new territories were conquered by Rāma's brothers and their sons, and Rāma later on divided his whole kingdom during his own life-time[1] into small feudal principalities. But all these principalities perhaps accepted the allegiance of the central authority of Kośala. He himself coronated not only his nephews but his two sons, Kuśa and Lava, as well The latter two were coronated, we are told,[2] in Kuśāvatī and Śrāvastī respectively.[3] A good deal of confusion, however, has been created by the Purānas and the Rāmāyana with regard to the exact location of Kuśāvatī, the capital of Kuśa. It is evident, as we shall presently see, that Kālidāsa also had not been able to clear that confusion. We are informed[4] that Kuśāvatī was situated on the Vindhyan ranges. Kālidāsa says[5] in the same vein that when Kuśa

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1 VR VII 63 10-14, 100.20, 101 10-11, 102 11, Vāyu 88. 184-190, Pad VI 271.54-5; Bḍ III. 63.187-191; Raghuvamśa XV 89-98, XVI. 3

2 इमौ कुशलवौ राजन्नभिषिंच नराधिप ।
कोसलेषु कुशं वीरं उत्तरेषु तथा लवम् ।। VR. VII. 107.7

3. Ibid VII. 108 4-5

4. कुशस्य नगरी रम्या विंध्यपर्वतरोधसि ।
कुशावतीति नाम्ना सा कृता रामेण धीमता ।।
श्रावस्तीति पुरी रम्या श्राविता च लवस्य च ।
श्रयोध्या विजना कृत्वा राघवो भरतस्तदा ।। Ibid. VII. 108. 4-5. Refer also to Vāyu 88.199.200; Pad. VI. 271.55; Bḍ. III. 63 198-200; Raghuvamśa. XV. 97.

5 व्यलंघयद्विन्ध्यमुपायनानि पश्यन्पुलिन्दैरुपपादितानि ।।
Raghuvamśa. XVI 32.

later on decided to leave Kuśāvatī and again take to Ayodhyā, the Kośalan capital, his army, while marching for Ayodhyā from Kuśāvatī, had to cross the Vindhya mountain. The Purāṇas[1] seem to identify this Kuśāvatī with Kuśasthalī, the modern Dvārakā or Dvārāvatī Now the question arises whether Rāma or his sons were able to ever conquer and control the western coast of India There is absolutely no proof to that effect. Rāma neither seems to have gone to those parts of India, while spending his exile in the south and to have established his political supremacy there, nor it is said anywhere that he was able to conquer those territories later in his life. Under these circumstances, putting Kuśāvatī in the west-coast of India seems to be a clear mistake in all the relevant references, which must have a common and later origin.

Identification of Kuśāvatī

What was the exact location of Kuśāvatī then ? It looks certain that it is the Kusāvatī of the Kusa Jātaka,[2] the Mahāsudassan Sutta[3], and the Kusināra of the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta[4] of the Dīgha Nikāya. It will have to be then identified with the modern Kasaya[5] town of the Deoria district, 37 miles east of the Gorakhpur city. Śrāvastī (the capital of Lava),

1. कुशस्य कोशलाराज्यं पुरीचापि कुशस्थली ।
   रम्या निवेशिता तेन विंध्यपर्वतसानुषु ।। Vāyu 88 199

   The Padma Purāna (Uttarakhaṇḍa 271 55) makes a confusion here in saying —

   कुशावत्या कुशं वीरं द्वारवत्या लवं तथा ।
   स्थापयाभास धर्मेण राज्यं स्वे रघुसत्तम: ।।
2. Fausboll's Ed Vol. I. P 392.
3. DN. (Bom. Uni. Pub.) Pt. II. P. 134 and ff.
4. Ibid PP. 116 ff.
5. AGI by Cunningham, PP 430 ff. ; Arch. Sur. Ind. Rep XXII. PP. 16ff. ; JRAS 1913, P. 152

Chandrakāntā or Chandravaktrā (the capital of Chandraketu), and Aṅgadīyā (the capital of Aṅgada) were all situated on the slopes of the Himālaya. Kuśāvatī should not have been very far off. We are informed[1] by Kālidāsa that Kuśa did not remain in Kuśāvatī for long. At the request of the inhabitants of Ayodhyā, he started for that old city and ruled from there for the rest of his life. It seems after he left Kuśāvatī, Chandraketu, the Malla[2]—the son of Lakṣamaṇa, occupied it and became the progenitor of the famous Mallas of the Buddhist days.

Double Monarchy in Kośala after Rāma's death

Not long after the division of the kingdom and the coronation of his sons, Rāma gave up his ghost.[3] Ayodhyā was forsaken for sometime.[4] But later on, when Kuśa left Kuśāvatī in its favour, it remained for a few generations the capital of the southern portion of Kośala under Kuśa's successors. Lava started another line in the northern portion with Śrāvastī as his capital. The Kuśa-Lava period thus proved to be the beginning of an age of double monarchy in Kośala. That state of affairs seems to have continued for a little after the great Bhārata war, when Divākara, a king of the Śrāvastī line, ended the division and brought back both the portions of the kingdom of Kośala under his unified powerful authority. He is specifically described[5] as the possessor of Ayodhyā, a city of Madhyadeśa.

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1 Raghuvamśa, XVI Canto

2. Malla was the title of Chandraketu VR VII 102 9.

3 VR VII Ch 109.

4 Ibid. VII. 108 5 says —

अयोध्या विजनां कृत्वा राघवो भरतस्तदा ।

5. वत्सद्रोहात्प्रतिव्योमस्तस्य पुत्रो दिवाकरः ।
तस्यैव मध्यदेशे तु अयोध्या नगरी शुभा ॥
Mat. 270.5 ; Vāyu 99.282.

The division of the Kośalan kingdom into small principalities must have weakened it and made it a playground of fissiperous tendencies. It is probable that besides the two main lines of Ayodhyā and Śrāvastī, which could not keep the whole of Kośala under their control, other small principalities also sprang up. The latter seem to have developed into non-monarchical Ganas in the days of the Buddha. The Mallas at least are mentioned as an independent people under a monarchy in the Mahābhārata,[1] whom Bhīmsena conquered before the Rājasūya sacrifice of Yudhisthira. Partly because of this fact and also partly due to the lack of authentic Purāṇic or any other traditional datum, it is well nigh impossible to have any detailed or specific knowledge of the Post-Rāma history of Kośala for a sufficiently long period. We know nothing important from the end of the Tretā age to the last stages of the Dvāpara, to use the Hindu nomenclature. It is only in the age of the Mahābhārata war that something really important is known.

Dark age of Kośalan History

The historical significance of the tradition

The significance of Rāma's war on Rāvana has always taxed the minds of scholars in more ways than one. The view mostly held[2] is that it represents the march of north Indian (Aryan) culture and civilization to the south. These conclusions may, however, be taken to represent only the long range result of Rāma's campaign and were not the cause of the same. The religious sense of the vast number of Hindus, who believe that Rāma was an incarnation of Viṣṇu, goads them into a credulousness to treat that result as the cause. They hold that Rāma, the embodiment of good, was born for the

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1. II 30 3 says :- मल्लानामधिपचैव पार्थिवं चाजयत्प्रभुः ॥
2. Cf. HCIP., 'The Vedic Age', PP. 290 and 312.

very purpose[1] of conquering Rāvaṇa, the symbol of evil. Historically, this position cannot be substantiated. Rāma does nowhere seem to have made any conscious effort at the projection of his supremacy over the south. It is not that there were no previous attempts at cultural contacts between the two regions There are known to have existed a number of Risis,[2] e. g., Agastya etc, who had penetrated not only the Deccan but the extreme south as far as upto the Janasthāna[3], and even beyond that upto the sea However, their ways of penance and peaceful contacts with the common people were not liked in the beginning by the powerful tribe of the Rākṣasas, who had their kins and probably their head-quarters in Lankā and were quite advanced in their own way[4] and they created plenty of trouble for those Ṛiṣis. It is certain that the latter must have seen in Rāma an unexpected succour and they, no doubt, prayed for his help. It cannot be claimed, however, that they wilfully utilized Rāma in the extermination of the Rākṣasas with any set purpose.

Rāma's going to the Dandaka forest was not pre-planned for any specific purpose. It developed simply out of the court-intrigues of Ayodhyā and it seems Kaikeyī chose those jungle-regions for his exile with the ostensible intention and expectation that he might not return again to create difficulties for Bharata. And once Rāma went to the Dandaka,

1 This is clear from a perusal of the Rāmāyana and other allied literature, where it is said in the form of prophecies that Rāma would be born for the very purpose of killing Rāvana. Refer for example, to VR. I. Chs. 15, 17 and VII Chs. 10 and 35 ; Padma, VI. 269 28-9 and 53-58.

2 The most important of them, besides Agastya, were Jābāli of Chitrakūṭa and Śarabhanga and Sutīkṣna of the Daṇḍakāraṇya.

3. The Rāmāyana says that the very name 'Janasthāna' came to be prevalent on account of the Ṛisis having existed there. The relevant verse goes as follows :—

तपस्विनो स्थिता ह्यत्र जनस्थानमतोऽभवत् । VR. VII. 81.20.

4. Cf. VR. V. Chs. 4 ff.

he was bound to incur the displeasure of the Rākṣasas because of his natural sympathies for the Riṣis, who had been made the special targets of attack and harassment by them. As a Kṣatriya prince, he must have felt it a bounden duty to allay their fears and take cudgels against the Rākṣasas on their behalf. That at once landed him into enmity with Rāvaṇa with the consequence of war against him and his island kingdom of Laṅkā (Ceylon). It was just thrown upon Rāma since there was no other choice. A challenge was there before him and he picked it up. His friendship with the forest-tribes of the Vānaras and the Ṛiksas, though diplomatic, was made easy for the fact that they had already begun to be influenced by the north Indian Aryan Brāhmanism and were harassed by the Rāksasas from the south. Ultimately, his victory over Rāvana, the extermination of the Rāksasa terror from the south, and the installation of Vibhīsana and Sugrīva on their respective thrones must have made the contact between the north and south much more cordial. It proved conducive to the mutual benefit of the two regions later. But the wrong notion that Rāma led a military invasion of the south for his political aggrandisement is not supported by written tradition. Rather, he was a friend of the south against the Rāksasas from the southern seas.

CHAPTER VI

THE DECLINE & FALL OF THE KOŚALAN KINGDOM

The Mahābhārata War and the kings of Kośala

The two main lines of Kośalan rulers at Ayodhyā and Śrāvastī continued upto a little after the great Bhārata war. We are informed that when a Rājasūya sacrifice was proposed by Yudhisthira, his four younger brothers started on tours of military conquests in all directions of India. It fell under Bhīmasena's charge to cover the eastern regions and, we are informed, he defeated[2] not only the Kośalan king, Bṛihadbala, but also the religious and powerful king of Ayodhyā, named Dīrghayajña.[3] That Ayodhyā and Śrāvastī continued to be represented by two separate kings upto the Mahābhārata age is clear from this reference.

Brihadbala attended[4] the Rājasūya sacrifice of Yudhiṣṭhira after having lost to Bhīmasena. He seems, however, to have

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1. भीमसेनस्तथा प्राचीं सहदेवस्तुदक्षिणाम् ॥ Mbh. II. 25.10.
2. ततः कुमारविषयेश्रेणिमन्तमथाजयत् ।
कोसलाधिपतिं चैव बृहद्बलमरिन्दमः ॥
अयोध्यायां तु धर्मज्ञं दीर्घयज्ञंमहाबलम् ।
अजयत्पाण्डवश्रेष्ठो नातितीव्रेण कर्मणा ॥ Ibid. II.30. 1-2
3. Dr. S. N. Pradhan has identified (Chronology of Ancient India, PP. 127-128) Dirghayajña with Uktha, Aunka, Ukya, Ulūka, Arka, or Yakṣa of the Purānas (Vāyu 88.205; Bḍ III. 63 205; Br. 8 92; Bhāg. IX. 12.2; Śiva Pt. II. Sec. 5 39.24; Viṣ. IV. 4. 106).
4. Mbh. II. 34.10.

later been forced to accept the suzerainty of the Kauravas since Karṇa is referred to have waged a war against him and exacted tribute.[1] As a result of this, Bṛihadbala joined the Kauravas against the Pāndavas in the Mahābhārata war.[2] He led the fight with many other kings[3] againstAbhimanyu, the son of Arjuna, and was ultımately killed[4] by that Pāṇḍava prince. After that great war, Kośala was once again prostrate before the Pāṇḍavas. Arjuna ıs said[5] to have escorted the horse of Yudhiṣṭhira's Aśvamedha through Kośala. Bṛıbadbala had already been kılled in the war and Arjuna's supremacy over Kośala would have probably been establıshed in the reign of hıs descendant, Bṛihadraṇa.

Hiraṇyanābha Kausalya

Hiraṇyanābha Kausalya was one of the most famous of the post-Mahābhārata Kośalan kings. He belonged to the Ayodhyā line descending from Kuśa and ıs mentioned in the Purānas as the last king of his stock before they tack on[6] to the same line the descendants of Lava, who ruled at Śrāvastı. He came at the seventeenth descending step from Kuśa and sixth from Uktha. So he was a contemporary of Janmejaya,[7]

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1. वत्सभूमिं विनिर्जित्य केवलां मृत्तिकावतीम् ।
   मोहनं पत्तनं चैव त्रिपुरीं कोसलां तथा ॥
   एतान् सर्वान् विनिर्जित्य करमादाय सर्वशः ॥ Ibıd. III 254. 10-1
2. Ibid. VI. 16.16.
3. Ibıd. VI. 45.15-18 ; 57 9 ; 87 9.
4. Ibıd. VIII 5 21 ; Bhāg IX. 12.8 , Vısṇu. IV. 4.112 ; Lg. 66.42 ; Cf. Mbh. XI. 25.10-11.
5. ततोऽर्चितो ययौ राजंस्तदा स तुरगोत्तमः ।
   काशीनंगान्कोसलांश्च किरातानथ तंगणान् ॥ Mbh. XIV. 83 4.
6. Cf. S. N. Pradhan, Chronology of Ancıent India. PP. 129 ff
7. Cf. S. N. Pradhan, Op. Cıt. PP. 124 and 127.

the grandson of Abhimanyu, the Pāṇḍava prince. Hiraṇya-nābha is better known for his high learning and religious character than for any political greatness. The Praśnopaniṣad introduces[1] him as an inquisitive disciple going to Sukeśā Bhāradvāja in pursuit of the knowledge of 'Puruṣa', i. e., God. He is styled there as a 'Rājaputra' and a 'Kumāra'. Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri seems to be right[2] in not attaching any importance to the term, 'Rājaputra'. But the additional appellation, 'Kumāra', appears to signify that Hiraṇyanābha was not as yet a king but a prince only at the time, when he went to Sukeśā Bhāradvāja. He learnt[3] along with Pauṣyañji 500 sub-branches of one branch of the Sāmaveda from Sukarman, the great grandson of Jaiminī, the disciple of the famous Vedavyāsa. Pauṣyañji had 500 disciples, who were styled as Udīchya Sāmagas.[4] There were other 500 pupils of Hiranyanābha, who learnt from him the same number of branches of the Sāmaveda and were called Prāchya Sāmagas[5] One of his disciples, Kṛiti, taught to his

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1 अथहैनं सुकेशा भारद्वाज प्रपच्छ ।
भगवन् हिरण्यनाभः कौसल्यो राजपुत्रो मामुपेत्यैतं प्रश्नमपृच्छत् ।
षोडषकलं भारद्वाज पुरुषं वेत्थ ।
तमहं कुमारमब्रुवं नाहमिमं वेद । VI. 1.

2. PHAI. P. 101. Note 24

3. Vāyu. 61 27-34; Bhāg. XII. 6. 75-77; Bḍ. II. 35 31-38 It may be noted here that the Purānas sometimes create confusion in saying (Bhāg IX 12 3) that Hiranyanābha was the disciple of Jaimini. Dr. S. N Pradhan (Op. Cit. PP 125-6) is right in interpreting that he was Jaimini's distant disciple. At other places (Viṣ. III. 6. 1-4, Vāyu 88.207) Sukarman, the teacher of Hiranyanābha is wrongly shown as the grandson of Jaimini. Really he was the great-grandson of Jaiminī.

4. हिरण्यनाभः कौसल्यः पौष्यंजिश्च द्विजोत्तमः ।
उदीच्यसामगाः शिष्यास्तस्य पंचशतं स्मृताः ॥ Viṣ. III. 6.4.

5. हिरण्यनाभात्तावत्यस्संहितायैर्द्विजोतमैः ।
गृहीतास्तेपि चोच्यन्ते पण्डितैः प्राच्यसामगाः ॥ Ibid. III. 6.5.

own pupils twenty four Saṁhitās.[1] Hiraṇyanābha was not only a scholar and teacher of the Sāmaveda but also a master of the Yogaśāstra and taught that science to the famous Yājñavalkya.[2]

Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri has tried to identify Hiraṇyanābha Kausalya with Mahākosala of the Buddhist works, who was an elder contemporary of Gautama Buddha. He says, Hiraṇyanābha "was a contemporary of Sukeśā Bhāradvāja,[3] who was himself a contemporary of Kausalya Aśvalāyana.[4] If it be true, as seems probable, that Āśvalāyana of Kośala is identical with Assalāyana of Sāvatthi mentioned in the Majjhima Nikāya[5] as a contemporary of Gautama Buddha, he must be placed in the sixth century B. C."[6] His whole approach is, however, hypothetical. There seems to be very little common ground between the two Āśvalāyanas except their identical names and their habitat in Kośala. This is certain that both belonged to the same family and the same country, Kośala. But the Upanisadic Āśvalāyana should be put some four or five generations after the Mahābhārata war (1400 B. C.) because of his contemporaniety with Hiraṇyanābha, whom we certainly know to have flourished in that period. Dr. S. N Pradhan has convincingly supplied as many as eight grounds[7] to show that Hiraṇyanābha Kausalya was a contemporary of Janmejaya, the grandson of Abhimanyu. So he was fourth from Arjuna, the famous hero of the Mahā-

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1. हिरण्यनाभशिष्यस्तु स तु विंशति संहिताः ।
   प्रोवाच कृतिनामासौ शिष्येभ्यश्च महामुनिः ॥ Ibid. III. 6.7.
2. तस्मादधिगतोयोगो याज्ञवल्केनधीमता ॥
   Vāyu 88.208 ; Bd. III. 63.208 ; Bhāg. IX. 12.3-4.
3. Praśnopanisad. VI. 1 ff.
4. Ibid I. 1.
5. PTS. Ed. Pt. II. P. 147.
6. PHAI. P. 102.
7. Chronology of Ancient India. PP. 123-133.

bhārata war. Mahākosala, the Buddha's contemporary, can by no means be put so early and so the latter cannot be identified with Hiraṇyanābha.[1]

The Unification of Ayodhyā and Śrāvastī lines

Hiranyanābha was the last important king of the Ayodhyā line. His son Aṭṇāra and the latter's son Para, who are very well known from the Vedic works[2] as great sacrificers, are not at all mentioned in the Purāṇas. Divākara of the Śrāvastī line was probably a stronger personality and of a great drive. He is said in the Purāṇas to have been the possessor of Ayodhyā[3] in Madhyadeśa. It clearly indicates his extermination of the descendants of Hiraṇyanābha as political rulers. The opportunity for him must have come from their religious engagements, which would have left them little time to devote to politics and administration. Thus the two main independent rulerships of Ayodhyā aud Śrāvastī, which began with Rāma's sons, Kuśa and Lava respectively, came to be unified into one under Divākara and Śrāvastī became his capital.

No other information is found about Divākara. He, however, seems to have inaugurated a new era of Kośalan politics and put an end to the weakness and stupor that had set in that kingdom after the death of Rāma on account of the division of his realm as well as the inherent weakness of the rulers themselves. After setting their own house in order by achieving the unity of the dynasty, the Kośalan monarchs began to exert their supremacy over their neighbour-

1. See Ante P. 101 for other arguments against this identification.

2. Śat Brā. XIII. 5 4 4 ; Śānkha. Śrauta Sūtra, XVI. 9 13 ; Taitt. Samh. 6.5.3 ; Kaṭha. Samh. XXII. 3 ; Pañch. Brāh. XXV. 16 3.

3. वत्सद्रोहात्प्रतिव्योमस्तस्य पुत्रो दिवाकरः ।
तस्यैव मध्यदेशे तु अयोध्यानगरी शुभा ॥
Mat. 270. 5 ; Vāyu 99 282.

ing kingdoms as well as the non-monarchical Gaṇas. This object was fulfilled to a very great extent in the days of Mahākosala and Prasenajita II.

Kāśī-Kośalan relations

The weakness of the Kośalan kingdom was very probably the cause and invitation for several attacks over it from the powerful neighbouring kingdom of Kāśī, ruled by the Brahmadattas. The latter seem to have consistently won the day in the preliminary rounds. Since it is well nigh impossible to make out any chronology of the Kāśī-Kośalan conflicts from the stories of the Jātakas, they may be divided into two heads. Some of them denote the upper hand of Kāśī, while others show the superiority of Kośala. Thus, for example, we are told by the Mahāvagga[1] and the Kosāmbī Jātaka[2] that king Brahmadatta of Kāśī, robbed Dīghīti,[3] king of Kośala, killed him, and forcibly occupied his kingdom. The Dīghītikosala Jātaka[4] informs that prince Dīghāvu, the son and successor of Dīghīti, tried to wrest back his kingdom. He was once able to catch hold of the of king of Kāśī and forced the latter to give him back the Kośalan kingdom. It is told in that context that the ruler of Kāśī had to make friends with Dīghāvu by giving him the hands of his daughter.[5] This was undoubtedly a political and diplomatic friendship not unmixed with considerable political adroitness.

The Ascendancy of Kāśī

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1. SBE. XVII. PP 294-99. It is said at one place there, दीघीति नामा कोसलराजा'... अपधनो अपभोगो अपबलो अपविजितो, अपरिपुण्णकोट्ठागारो' । etc.
2. (Fausboll's Ed.) III P. 487.
3. Dīghīti is styled as Dīha in the Jain canonical works. Cf. J. C. Jain, Life In Ancient India. P. 385.
4. Fausboll's Ed. III. P. 211-13.
5. Vinayapiṭaka. PTS. Vol. I. 342 ff.

The Kuṇāla Jātaka[1] tells us that Brahmadatta,[2] the king of Kāśī, slew the Kośalan king, occupied his kingdom and carried off his queen as chief consort for himself. Another Jātaka[3] informs us again that a king of Kāśī lead a vast army against Kośala, reached Śrāvastī, and, after giving a battle, entered the city and took the Kośalan king a prisoner. The kośalan prince, Chatta by name, was able to secure his escape, went to Takṣaśilā and turned an ascetic leader over 500 other ascetics. In the meantime, the king of Kāśī, "having got all the kingdom of Kośala into his possession, set up loyal officials as governors and himself having collected all their available treasure, returned with his spoil to Benares".[4] Prince Chatta of Kośala, however, was not long in coming back. He seized upon the treasures of his father that had been taken to Vārāṇasī and came to Śrāvastī. He also captured the officials of the kingdom of Kāśī posted there and occupied the kingdom and made it immune and impregnable against the attack of any hostile king.

King Manoja of Kāśī seems to have been powerful enough to have forced the Kośalan kingdom into political submission.[5]

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1. No. 536 (Fausboll's Ed.).
2. Brahmadatta was not a personal name. The Jātakas use it as the family name of the kings of Kāśī, whose proper names they often do not give. Cf. B. C. Law, Tribes In Ant. India. P. 107; R. L. Mehta, Pre-Buddhist India. P 61.
3. Brahachatta Jātaka, Fausboll's Ed. Vol III. PP 115 ff.
4. Jātaka Vol. III Cowell's Eng. Ed , P. 77.
5. Soṇa-Nanda Jātaka, Fausboll's Ed Vol. V PP 315-6. Manoja has been styled there as Aggarāja, i. e., the foremost king of his time. "He is there said", says Dr. R. L. Mehta, (Pre-Buddhist India P. 62) "to have first subdued the Kośalan king and then, reinforced with the defeated army, he marched against Anga and conquered it Similarly he brought Magadha, Assaka and Avanti under his sway. Thus he practically became an All India Sovereign."

It is also said that he brought under his control the kingdoms of Aṅga and Magadha as well. This looks like the acme of political and imperial power and prestige of Kāśī Later, however, the great ambition of the realm of Kāśī brought its own downfall in the shape of creating enemies of all the neighbouring kingdoms. They were always in search of opportunities to feed fat their grudge against that kingdom. Once it so happened that as many as seven kings encompassed[1] Kāśī. "Banaras in this respect resembled ancient Babylon and mediaeval Rome, being the coveted prize of its more warlike but less civilized neighbours."[2]

The ascendancy of Kośala

Next came the turn of Kośala. Kāśī had fallen from its powerful position and its growing weakness offered opportunities to the Kośalan kings, who readily seized them. In the final rounds of the contests between the two kingdoms Kośala got the upper hand.

There seem to have been three stages of slow but steady growth of Kośalan power against Kāśī. The first was when the Kośalan kings tried to occupy Kāśī and attacked it, but ultimately failed and were often forced to stage retreats. The Alīnacitta Jātaka[3] speaks of the march of a Kośalan king over Kāśī at a time, when its king was dead without having left any heir to his throne. But in the meantime his queen gave birth to a son and the people of Kāśī, being fortified with the idea that they had a master and successor to the throne, gave battle to the invading forces and defeated them. The Kośalan king was captured, but was finally allowed to go back safely. We are informed in this connection

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1. Jātaka, No 181, Refer also the Bhojajānīya Jātaka, No. 23 (Fausboll's Ed)
2. H C. Raychaudhuri, PHAI. P. 98 ; Refer for the Nāga ascendancy over Kāśī and the growing weakness of the latter to R. L Mehta's Pre-Buddhist India, PP. 65-6.
3. No. 156 (Fausboll's Ed)

that Kāśī came out with flying colours in that battle because of its superiority in elephantry. The Asātarūpa Jātaka[1] similarly speaks of a kośalan attack over Kāśī, in which the invading king slew the king of Kāśī and carried off his queen to make her his own consort. The prince of Kāśī had, however, escaped through a sewer and later blockaded his own capital city, which had been occupied by the Kośalan army. In the course of the blockade the head of the king of Kośala was chopped off and the prince of Kāśī was thus able to wrest back his kingdom.

The next stage saw the fast-growing weakness of Kāśī. It is clear from the fact that many ministers of Kāśī, either after being maltreated or punished, are said to have gone over to the Kośalan side and induced its kings to attack their own country, the kingdom of Kāśī. Such is the theme of at least the Mahāsīlava,[2] Ghata,[3] Maṇikuṇḍala,[4] and Ekarāja[5] Jātakas. It is invariably said that the Kośalan kings were invited by disgruntled elements to attack Kāśī. They dispossessed its kings, sometimes imprisoned or penalized them, but on many occasions restored them to their kingdom and made treaties. The decided preponderance of Kośala is, however, clearly visible.

The final stage of the Kāśī-Kośalan feud resulted into the absorption of Kāśī in the kingdom of Kośala. But it is difficult to point out either the date or the circumstances, in which Kāśī had to bow down before its adversaries from Kośala. Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri thinks[6] that "the final conquest of the latter kingdom (Kāśī) was probably the

1. No. 100 (Fausboll's Ed.).
2. Fausboll's Ed., I PP. 263ff.
3. Eausboll's Ed., III. P. 168.
4. Ibid. No. 351.
5 Eausboll's Ed., III. 13-14.
6. Op. Cit. P. 154.

work of Kaṁsa, as the epithet, Bārānasīggaho, i. e., "Seizer of Banaras' is a standing addition to his name."[1] This Kaṁsa seems to have flourished not long before Buddha, since not only in his days but also for sometime after his age (when the Aṅguttara Nikāya was composed) the memory of the independence of Kāśī was still fresh in men's minds.[2]

Kāśī formed an integral part of Kośala in the days of Mahākosala, the father of Prasenajita, in the middle of the sixth century B. C. The Harita Māta[3] and the Vaddhakīsūkara[4] Jātakas state that when he married his daughter Mahākosalā to Bimbisāra, the Magadhan king, one of the villages of Kāśī, yielding a revenue of a hundred thousand, was given to that lady as pin-money.

Kāśī incorporated into Kośala

Prasenajita was able to retain Kāśī in his imperial hegemony. The Lohiccha Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya[5] clearly speaks of his mastery over Kāśī just in the same way as he was the master of Kośala. The administration of Kāśī was

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1. The Seyya Jātaka, Eausboll's Ed II. P. 403 ; The Tesakuna Jātaka. Eausboll's Ed V. P 112.
2. Cf R L Mehta, Pre-Buddhist India, P 67 ; H C. Raychaudhuri, Op. Cit. P. 154 ; CHI. Vol. I P. 180.
3. No 239 (Fausboll's Ed.)
4. No. 283 (Fausboll's Ed.).
5. त किं मञ्ञसि लोहिच्च, ननुराजा प्रसेनदि—
कोसल कासि-कोसलं अज्झावसतीति ?
'एवं भो गोतम'। यो न खो लोहिच्च, एवं वदेय्य—
राजापसेनदि कोसलो कासि-कोसलं अज्झा—
वसति, या कासि-कोसले समुदय-संजाति राजा
व तं पसेनदि-कोसलो एककोपरिभुंजेय । etc
DN. Bom. Uni. Pub. Pt. I. P. 261 ; Refer also to MN. PTS, Pt. II. P. 111.

carried on by one of his uterine brothers,[1] who was styled as Kāśīrāja.[2] Later, however, like Kośala itself (when it declined) Kāśī was amalgamated[3] by the new-growing imperial power of Magadha. This must have happened after the strong personalities of Prasenajita and Vidūdabha passed away and their weak successors had failed to retain the glory and greatness of their past.

Kośala-Magadha relations

Kośala and Magadha both were powerful kingdoms during the days of Gautama Buddha and seem to have been very probably afraid of each other's power. The Magadhan king, Bimbisāra, was, besides being militarily powerful, diplomatically very wise. While adopting the policy of conquest towards some Janapadas, e. g , Aṅga,[4] he entered into matrimonial alliances with many of his contemporary rulers.[5]

One of Bimbisāra's important marriages was with Mahākosalā, the daughter of Mahākosala,[6] the powerful Kośalan king. We are informed[7] that as a part of dowry to her daughter, Mahākosala gave up to Bimbisāra the proceeds of one of the villages of Kāśī, which yielded a revenue of one hundred thousand, as her pin-money.

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1. Vinayapiṭaka, Mahāvagga, Ed Oldenberg PTS. Vol. I P. 281 ; Cf. DPPN. Vol. I P. 592
2. Ibid.
3. Cf D. R. Bhandarkar. Charmichael Lectures, 1918. P. 79, V A. Smith, Early History. 4th Ed. P. 45
4. Cf. H. C. Raychaudhuri, PHAI. P. 207.
5. Kṣemā, the madra princess was his chief queen He also married Chellanā, the daughter of Cheṭaka of Vaiśālī Cf. H. C. Raychaudhuri, PHAI. P. 206 note 3.
6. Harita Māta Jātaka. No. 239 ; Vaddhakīsūkara Jātaka No. 283 ; Taccha Sūkara Jātaka No. 492 ; DN. PTS. Pt. I. P. 50.
7. Ibid.

Later, however, it is stated[1] that under the influence of Devadatta, who aspired for religious leadership and was jealous of the Buddha's popularity, for which he held Bimbisāra largely responsible, Ajātaśatru, the Magadhan prince, murdered his father, Bimbisāra, and himself occupied the throne. After the death of her husband, king Bimbisāra, Mahākosalā also died of grief. The whole conduct of Ajātaśatru, highly reprehensible as it was, greatly displeased his maternal uncle, Prasenajita (Pasenadi of Pāli), the powerful Kośalan king. He at once decided to withhold the revenues[2] of the Kāśī-village that had been given towards the pin-money of his sister. It may be noted in this connection that the village in question had not been administratively transferred to Magadha by the Kośalan king, Mahā-Kosala. Perhaps only its revenues used to be sent periodically to the Magadhan court in favour of Mahākosalā, which Prasenajita withheld after her death. Ajātaśatru was made of a sterner stuff, however, and he took Prasenajita's conduct as a personal affront with the result that a war followed between Kośala and Magadha.[3]

The war between Kośala and Magadha was very probably punctuated by Kośalan participation in the war, which the non-monarchical people of Vaiśālī waged against Ajātaśatru. That Prasenajita had very friendly relations with the Lichchavis

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1. Refer to the introductions to the Sañjīva Jātaka, No. 150; Thūsa Jātaka, No. 338; Muṣika Jātaka, No 373; Saṃkicca Jātaka, No. 530, and Khaṇḍahāla Jātaka, No 542 as well as Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, PTS. Vol. I. PP 135-7 for the aspirations of Devadatta, his influence over Ajātaśatru, the latter's killing of his father and the later penitence of both before the Buddha.

2. Jātaka, Eausboll's Ed. Vol. III. P. 121 and IV. P. 343.

3. Dr. Malalasekera notes, "before this uncle and nephew seem to have been on very friendy terms. Once Ajātaśatru sent

[Footnote contd. on P. 213]

is proved by the Majjhima Nikāya.[1] When Cheṭaka of Vaiśālī was invaded by the Magadhan monarch, it is said in the Jain Nirayāvali sūtra,[2] he sought the help of the Ganarājās of Kāśī-Kośala. It seems that "all the enemies of Ajātaśatru including the rulers of Kāśī-kośala and Vaiśālī offered a combined resistance."[3]

References to the war between Magadha and Kośala are found in two Suttas of the Samyutta Nikāya. They[4] inform us that before Prasenajita finally settled with Ajātaśatru, he had already been twice engaged in battle against him. The first engagement, in which Prasenajita was worsted, is the topic of the Paṭhamasamgāma Sutta.[5] We are informed in the second Samgāma Sutta[6] that though the Kośalan king was victorious in the second battle and made Ajātaśatru a prisoner, the latter's life was spared for considerations of old relationships, chiefly because he was his own nephew. The Kośalan king, however, snatched the Magadhan army on that occasion for his own service. The final rounds of that war, it may be observed, are not discussed in the Samyutta Nikāya and we have to look to the Jātakas for the same.

Victory at first, we are told,[7] 'lay with Ajātaśatru and the king of Kośala, having been worsted, consulted his

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[contd] Pasenadi a wonderful piece of foreign fabric, sixteen cubits long and eight broad mounted on a pole to serve as a canopy This Pasenadi gave to Ānanda. (Majjhima Nikāya, PTS Vol II P. 116)" Vide—DPPN Vol. I. PP. 31ff.

1. PTS. Pt. II. P. 101 ; Cf. DPPN Vol. II. P. 781.
2. Cf. H. C. Raychaudhuri, Op. Cit. P. 212.
3. Ibid. P. 213.
4. SN. Sarnath (Hindi) Ed. Pt. I. PP. 76-7. The two Suttas are styled as Samgāma, i e. 'Battle' Suttas.
5. Ibid. P. 76.
6. Ibid. P. 77.
7. Introduction to The Tacchasūkara Jātaka, No. 492 ; Refer also to the introduction to Kummāsapiṇḍa Jātaka, No. 415.

ministers. They advised to take counsel from the Buddhist brethren. Apprehensive of the fact that the latter would not frankly and openly discuss his discomfiture, Prasenajita sent some messengers to overhear their private talks in that connection. There were two of the king's old officers, who had renounced the world and lived as monks in Jetavana. "Dhanuggatissa talked to Mantidatta at the last quarter of one night and said, 'a born fool that king of Kośala is, all he knows is how to eat a mess of food.' 'What do you mean Sir ?' 'He lets himself be beaten by Ajātaśatru, who is not better than a worm in his own belly'. 'What should he do then ?' 'Why elder Datta ? You know the order of battle is of three kinds, waggon battle, wheel battle, and lotus battle. It is the waggon battle he ought to use in order to catch Ajātaśatru. Let him post valient men on the two flanks on the hill—top and then show his main battle in front. Once he gets in between, out with a shout and leap and they have him like a fish in a lobster-pot. This is the way to catch him."[1]

The royal messengers, having overheard Dhanuggatissa and Mantidatta, came and related their whole talk to Prasenajita. He, we are again told,[2] immediately set out with a great host and took Ajātaśatru a prisoner and bound him in chains. The latter was released, however, in the end and was made a friend of Kośala again. Prasenajita gave him his own daughter, Vājirā, in marriage as a token of his new friendship.

The above story of the Taccha-sūkara Jātaka is supported by another, found in the introduction to the Vaddhakīsūkara Jātaka.[3] The details in both the accounts are almost identi-

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1. Jātaka, Cowell's English Translation, Vol. IV. PP. 216-7.
2. Ibid. P. 217.
3. No. 283 (Fausboll's Ed.).

cal. The only material addition in the latter is that at the time of those Kośala—Magadha contests Prasenajita was quite old. That was partly responsible for his early reverses. We are also informed that, when he finally settled with Ajātaśatru and married his daughter to him, he gave back the contested Kāśī-village (its revenue only) to the Magadhan monarch in favour of Vājirā's pin-money It is difficult to believe, it may be noted here, with Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri[1] that Ajātaśatru was able to annex Kāśī either fully or even a part of it. What he achieved were the proceeds of the village, referred to above. As long as Prasenajita was alive, Ajātaśatru was certainly not able to incorporate Kāśī in Magadha

The happy ending of Prasenajita's quarrel with Ajātaśatru turned the two kingdoms of Kośala and Magadha into good friends again. It is difficult to calculate exactly as to how long Prasenajita lived[2] to enjoy his new friendly relations with Magadha. There is no doubt, however, that he was sufficiently old[3] at the time of his fateful battles with the Magadhan monarch. His last attempt to use his friendship with Ajātaśatru was at the time, when Vidūḍabha,[4] his own son and also a commander[5] of his army, revolted against him in collusion with the commander-in-chief, Dīgha Kārāyaṇa. It was on the occasion of Prasenajita's fateful meeting with the Buddha at Metalumpa[6] that the two found their opportunity. It proved to be the last meeting of the two great personalities

1. Op. Cit. P. 210.
2 Dr Malalasekera calculates it to be three years. Refer to DPPN. Vol II. P. 172.
3. Cf Introduction to the Vaddhakisūkara Jātaka, No 283.
4. MN. II. 4.9 ; Introduction to the Bhaddasāla Jātaka, No 465.
5. Introduction to the Bhaddasāla Jātaka, No. 465.
6. Vidūḍabha's cause of dissatisfaction against Prasenajita would be described later in this chapter.

of the age. Viḍūḍabha raised himself on the Kośalan throne,[1] and the old king had to flee for safety and succour to Ajātaśatru. But as his misfortune would have it, he could not stand the strain. Despite the fact that he managed to reach Rājagṛiha on an evening, he had to wait outside the closed city-gates and died at the ensuing night due to sheer exhaustion and indigestion, which caused either dysentery or cholera.[2] Ajātaśatru, when informed of the event, took possession of his corpse, got it cremated and performed his obsequies. We are further told in that connection that Ajātaśatru thought of marching his army against Viḍūḍabha but desisted from doing so on the advice of his ministers.

Prasenajita, the last important king of the Kośalan line

Prasenajita was the last great monarch of the solar dynasty of Kośala. After its great Chakravartins from Māndhātā to Rāma had been reduced to mere memories, the Kośalan power grew once again through his great personality. We have already seen as to how the weakness of the post-Rāma rulers of Kośala and Rāma's division of his realm threw down the dynasty into insignificance. Divākara, the possessor of Ayodhyā,[3] however, inaugurated a new era of political supremacy. By the days of Prasenajita, the power and prestige of the Kośalan kingdom had been partially regained and it enjoyed a brief spell of greatness before it was submerged in the rising tide of Magadhan imperialism. Prasenajita proved to be the evening sunshine of the bright day of Kośalan power and the final glow of its setting sun.

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1. Piyajātika Suttanta. MN. Sarnath (Hindi) Ed. P. 360.
2. The whole story is described in the Aṭṭhakathā quoted in MN. Sarnath (Hindi) Ed. P. 367 Note 1 ; Refer also to DPPN. II. PP. 168 ff.
3. Mat. 270 4.

Prasenajita claimed an equality of age with the Buddha[1] and it may be concluded that both of them were born in the same year. Of his early life no special knowledge is available except that he studied at the famous university of Takṣaśilā. He had Bandhula, the Mallian of Kusinārā and Mahāli, the Lichchavian, as his class-mates there.[2] It is possible that he might have ruled in Vārāṇasī as the governor of Kāśī in the days of his father, Mahākosala—a position, which was later occupied by his brother.[3]

His early life

Personally Prasenajita was an epicurian. We are informed that he had a great seraglio comprising of as many as 500 queens.[4] Though the number seems to be greatly exaggerated, there is absolutely no doubt that the polygamous monarch had a big harem. At least five of his queens are separately named. The first and foremost of those was Mallikā.[5] Disregarding the fact that she was the daughter of a garland-maker[6] and a subject of

His private life

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1 While claiming an affinity with the Lord, he said,
'भगवाऽपि कोसलको अहम्पि कोसलको,
भगवाऽपि असीतिको अहम्पि असातिको' etc. MN. Dhammachetiya-sutta ; The Dulva says that he was born on the same day, on which the Buddha was born (Rockhill, The Life of Buddha. P. 16) If the general opinion that the latter was born in 563 B C. is accepted, it may be concluded that it was the year of Prasenajita's birth as well.

2. Cf DPPN. II. P 267, A manual of Buddhism, Hardy, PP 290 1.

3. Vinayapiṭaka, Mahāvagga, Ed. Oldenberg, PTS. Vol I. P. 281 ; Cf. DPPN. Vol. 1, P. 592.

4. Cf Hardy, A Manual of Buddhism, P. 297.

5 Cf. DPPN. II. PP. 455-7 ; Jātaka No. 77 ; Introduction to Kummāṣapiṇḍa Jātaka, No. 415.

6 The Dulva, says that she was the child of a Brāhmaṇa. Rockhill, The Life of Buddha, P 75.

his own kingdom, Kośala, the king made her his chief queen,[1] after having accepted the love of her lap on a day, when he had given battle to Ajātaśatru, his Magadhan antagonist, but was defeated and had to return sad and weary. She was sagacious and politically-minded, and was often consulted by the king on matters of moment. Another important and perhaps the second in status was queen Vāsabhakhattiyā.[2] She was the daughter of Mahānāma Śākya from his slave-woman, Nāgamuṇḍā. Prasenajita had married her in order to gain nearness and friendship with the Buddha. The Śākyas, of whom he had demanded a maiden, had played the trick of sending that slave-girl instead of one of their full - blooded daughters. Viḍūdabha was her son and on both the queen and the prince the king had showered great love and patronage. But when he came to know about the real story and the deception perpetrated by the Śākyas, he withdrew all that patronage together with the status he had granted them. They were, however, later restored to their respective positions at the intercession of the Buddha.[3] Other queens of Prasenajita were Ubbīrī Therī, who had been born in the family of a very rich burgess of Śrāvastī,[4] Somā, and Sakulā,[5] the last two being sisters to each other.[6]

Prasenajita was a devoted and good family man. We are told that when his queen Mallikā died, he became terribly sad[7] and ultimately the Buddha had to console him. Despite

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1. The Dulva (Op Cit. P. 67) says that Prasenajita was so pleased with her shrewdness that he asked Mahānāma, who had kept her as a family attendant, for her hands
2. Her story is given in the introduction to the Bhaddasāla Jātaka No 465 ; Refer also to T. Watters, On Yuan Chwang's Travels, II. P. 9.
3. Introduction to Jātaka No. 7
4. Cf. DPPN. Vol. I P 425.
5. MN Sarnath (Hindi) Ed. P. 368.
6. Cf. DPPN. Vol. I. P. 497
7. AN. (PTS) Vol. III. P 57.

his temporarily strained relations with both Mallikā[1] and Vāsabhakhattiyā[2] he led a loving conjugal life. The Piyajātika Suttanta[3] of the Majjhıma Nikāya speaks, by way of questions and answers between the king and his queen Mallikā, of the great love and affection, which he bestowed upon his only daughter, Vājirā[4]—who was born of Mallıkā, Vāsabhakhattiyā, his second queen, and Vidūdabha. The latter was his son from Vāsabhakhattiyā and was a commander of his army.

Prasenajita was a glutton ın his young days and probably lost a little of his health and agility due to his voracious eating. An amusing information is available in this respect from the Samyutta Nıkāya,[5] where he is caricatured as taking long breaths due to over-eating and the Buddha is shown to have preached to him in a Gāthā the good emanating from a measured meal. The king took the sermon to heart, appointed Sudarśana, hıs nephew,[6] to watch him eating every day and repeat the Gāthā preached by the Buddha so that he (the king) could not transgress the bounds of a normal meal and endanger hıs health any more. The king promised to pay Sudarśana a hundred Kārṣāpanas each day for that service. Some of the Jātakas[7] also refer to his gluttony and derisively call him a 'pot-bellied' man.

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1 Jātaka, Fausboll's Ed. Vol. III P. 20 and Vol. IV. P 437. Mallıkā possessed her own strong personalıty and relıgıous views (MN Sarnath Hındı Ed. PP 358-60), whıch were the real poınts of her dıfference wıth the kıng.
2. Introductıon to Jātaka No 7.
3 MN. Sarnath (Hindı) Ed. PP. 258-60.
4 Cf DPPN., Vol. II PP 455-7.
5. SN. (Sarnath Hindı Ed.) Pt. I P 76 ; PTS. Ed. I P. 82 ; Refer also to Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā, PTS. Vol. III. PP. 264ff
6 Cf. DPPN., Vol. II. P 1195.
7. Introductıons to the Tachcha-Sūkara Jātaka, No. 492 and the Vaddhakīsūkara Jātaka, No. 283.

Mahākosala, we are told in some late accounts, coronated Prasenajita as king in his own life-time.[1] That may suggest his accession to the throne at an early age. It seems on the basis of another authority that he ascended the throne either in his twenties or thirties. We find him talking to the Buddha, when they first met each other, about the latter's comparatively young age[2] and also of his recent enlightenment. Since Prasenajita claimed an equality of age with the Buddha,[3] the former also, according to his own sense of youth, must have been in the prime of his age at the time of his first meeting with the master. Some scholars[4] have calculated on the basis of the Aṅguttara Nikāya that the Buddha's first arrival in Śrāvastī, where he met the Kośalan king, was in the twenty-first year of his ministry, i.e., 35+21 = 56th year of his life. Surely it sounds very odd that the king should have called the Buddha young in years at the age of 56. The account in the Dulva[5] seems to be correct, when it says that the first meeting between the Buddha and Prasenajita took place in the 3rd year of the former's ministry in the Jetavana Vihāra of Anāthapiṇḍika in Śrāvastī. The meeting in that case may be taken to have occurred in the 38th (35+3=38) year of Buddha's life. That could be correctly said by Prasenajita to to be an young age for the Master.

Prasenajita's accession to the throne

Like the Buddha's enlightenment, the king seems to have treated his own coronation as a recent event and a margin of about five to ten years prior to the first meeting between the two seems to be correct for Prasenajita's accession to the throne.

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1 Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā, PTS Vol I. P 338
2. Dahara Sutta, SN. (Sarnath, Hindi Ed.) PP 67-8
3. MN , Sarnath (Hindi) Ed. P. 366.
4 Cf. Rahula Sankrityayana, Buddhacharyā (Hindi) P. 75.
5. Cf. Rockhill, The Life of Buddha, P. 50

His Political Supremacy

The political power and prestige enjoyed by Prasenajita should certainly give to his kingdom an equal status—if not greater, with Magadha, the rising star of the Indian political sky of his times. We have already discussed the battles he fought against Ajātaśatru, in which he was ultimately able to achieve peace with honour, though not without initial reverses. Apart from those, none of his military campaigns, if there were any, are known to us. It may, however, be confidently believed that he was powerful enough to command political suzerainty, if not direct sway, over all the traditional areas of Kośala. The Śākyan Gaṇa of Kapilavastu, which stretched over a portion of Kośala,[1] accepted his political over-lordship. The Śākyas offered him their respects "by doing homage, bowing, folding their hands, and standing in attendance"[2] on him. They were also conscious of the fact that they lived "in a place subject to the authority of the king of Kośala".[3] So did perhaps the Koliyas of Rāmagrāma and the Moriyas of Pipphalivana. The two branches of the Mallas of Kusinārā and Pāvā seem to have been left comparatively more independent and they must have acted as buffers between Kośala and Magadha, the two powerful monarchies of the time. The Samyutta Nikāya introduces[4] Prasenajita as once conversing with a group of five kings. Himself he must have been the most prominent of them. But it is difficult to successfully identify the rest, since they are nowhere named. Pāyāsi, the feudal chieftain, who ruled in Setavyā, gifted to him by Prasenajita; Kāśirāja, the uterine brother of the king, who

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1. AN (PTS.) I. P 296; MN (Sarnath Hindi Ed.) P. 366; Suttanipāta, Sarnath, Ed P 82.
2. करोन्ति खो सक्या रञ्जे पसेनदिम्हि कोसलेनिपच्चकारं अभिवादनं पच्चुपट्ठानं अंजलिकम्मं सामीचिकम्मं । DN. (PTS.) Vol. III. P 83.
3. Introduction to the Bhaddasāla Jātaka, Cowell's Eng. Ed. Vol. IV. P. 92.
4. Pañcharājañña Sutta, SN. (PTS.) Vol. I. PP. 79ff.

acted as the governor of Kāśi and some of the Gaṇarājās (presidents of the Gaṇas) might have comprised that group.[1] Though autonomous, all those 'rājās' accepted his political overlordship and suzerainty.

That Prasenajita held his mastery over Kāśī also has already been seen. He is styled as the lord of Kāśī-Kośala,[2] which he very much loved[3] because he received many things from his possession of them. We are further informed that his uterine brother ruled over Kāśī.[4] The latter was styled as Kāśirāja, which suggests the existence of an autonomous government there.

His administration

Prasenajita inherited from his father a great kingdom, but probably a bad administration. He tried to gear it up but met with only partial success despite the fact that he gave himself wholeheartedly to his administrative duties. Sirivaddha,[5] Ārohanta,[6] Ugga,[7] Mṛigadhara,[8] Kāla,[9] Junha,[10] and Santati[11] were his ministers. The first four, it seems, held positions of precedence over others, since they have

1. H. C. Raychaudhuri (PHAI PP. 155 and 199) thinks that those rājās included the rulers of the Kālāmas of Kesaptta and the Śākyas of Devadaha.
2. Lohichha Sutta, DN. (Bom. Uni Pub) Pt. I. P. 261; AN. (PTS) Vol. V P. 59.
3. Piyajātika Suttanta, MN. Sarnath (Hindi) Ed P. 360.
4. Vinayapiṭaka, Mahāvagga, Ed. Oldenberg (PTS) Vol. I - P. 281; Cf. DPPN Vol I. P. 592.
5. MN. (PTS.) Vol II P. 112.
6. Cf. DPPN. I. P 288.
7. Ibid. I PP. 332-333
8. Hoernle, Uvāsaga-dasāo. II. Appendix. P 56.
9. Sumangalavilāsinī, PTS. II PP 654ff.; Dhammapadaṭṭakathā PTS III PP 168-9
10. Ibid.
11. Cf DPPN. II P. 1023

been styled as Mahāmātyas. Datta[1] was another minister, who joined the Buddhist order and, because of his having held a ministerial post, he came to be styled as Mantidatta, i. e., Mantri (minister) Datta. The advice of the ministers was so much valued by the king that he never embarked on any new project, unless he had consulted Sirivaḍḍha and Mṛigadhara,[2] obviously the most important. On the other hand, however, it is said that he dismissed Kāla[3] for the latter's grief over excessive alms-giving by the king to the Buddhist order at the 'asadisadāna' (incomparable alms-giving). But this seems to have been an exceptional case. The Buddha was also partly instrumental in that dismissal, since he was quick enough to show his apparent disapproval of that minister's conduct. The Buddha showed his disapproval at the time of his thanks-giving, when he spoke far less[4] than what had been expected by the people present on the occasion. It was usual with Prasenajita even to go out of his way to satisfy the Master and this time his dismissal of the minister was more to please the lord than because of his personal whim or arbitrariness The minister on his part had acted very rightly. One cannot feel but inclined to quote other such instances, e. g., Aśoka, the great Mauryan emperor, was later prevented[5] by his ministers from giving away in gifts the state-funds. Similarly Rudradāmana was checked[6] by his ministers from spending too much even

1 It was with him that another Ex State-official of Prasenajita, Dhanuggatissa, talked about the king's strategy, which his spies heard and reported, with the result that in the battle, that followed, Kośala came out with flying colours. Cf DPPN. II P 443.

2. Hoernle, Uvāsaga-Dasāo, II Appendix. P 56.

3 Sumangalavilāsini, PTS. Vol. II P 654ff. ; Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā, PTS III PP 168-9

4. Ibid

5 Cf K P. Jayaswal, Hindu Polity P. 291.

6. Ibid

on State projects like the renovation and repair of the Sudarśana lake.

It seems that Prasenajita had not a harmonious team of ministers on all occasions There are good grounds to believe that sometimes they did not act in unison and tendered contradictory opinions to the king. We are told that, while Kāla did not feel happy over Prasenajita's giving away all at the 'asadisadāna', Junha[1] rejoiced a good deal over the same. They even quarrelled sometimes and we find one of the Jātakas[2] based on the quarrelsome ministers of Kośala.

Another important post in the Kośalan kingdom was that of the commander-in-chief, to which Bandhula, Prasenajita's class-mate at Takṣaśilā[3] and the Mallian chief of Kusinārā, was appointed. We are further informed[4] in this connection that once he rejudged a case amidst great excitement of the people, which had been previously decided unjustly by the regular judges. It was an unusual duty that he performed, but the king regularised his services in his new position of a judge. This greatly irritated the regular judges, who began to din into the king's ears that Bandhula aimed at the kingdom itself. Prasenajita's mind was thus so much poisoned that he sent Bandhula to quell a cooked-up frontier revolt with explicit orders that he should be killed on his way home. This was done, but the king soon came to know about the realities of the whole incident. He was genuinely grief-stricken and in his new penitent mood appointed Dīrgha Kārāyana, Bandhula's nephew, to the post of the commander-in-chief of his army. Dīrgha Karayana, however did not reciprocate the king's feelings, nurtured a sense of revenge

1. Cf DPPN. Refer to Junha.
2. Fausboll's Ed Vol II. P. 359-61.
3. Cf DPPN II PP. 266-7 ; Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā, PTS. Vol I. P 337
4. Refer to the introduction to the Bhaddasāla Jātaka, Faulsboll's Ed Vol IV. PP. 145ff.

within himself and ultimately proved instrumental in Vḍūḍabha's revolt against Prasenajita[1] and the latter's pathetic demise.[2] We shall revert to this topic again, when Prasenajita's tragic end is described.

The above account looks quite natural. It is difficult, however, to explain why Prasenajita took that questionable course of punishing Bandhula by sending him on a difficult mission on the one hand and secretly arranging for his murder on the other. It is possible that the relations between the king and the commander in-chief were quite strained on some other scores as well, which we do not know.

Some other court officials and servants of Kośala were Aggidatta, the Chaplain or Purohita—first to Mahākosala and then to Prasenajita[3]; Iṣidatta,[4] a chamberlain (Thapati); and his brother Purāna,[5] perhaps a Mahaut (elephant-driver). Isidatta and Purāna looked after the harem and when the ladies went out e-parking, they came in great contact with them. They were highly religious people, very much inclined to the faith of the Buddha,[6] and ultimately joined the order Ajitamānava, who also later became a Buddhist, was a price-assessor (Aggāsaniya) to the king of Kośala[7] and Megha was a treasurer of Sāketa.[8]

Despite all his efforts, it seems, Prasenajita was not an unqualified success in his administration. Severe punishments

1. Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed.) Vol. IV. PP. 148ff.
2. Cf DPPN II PP 168ff.; MN. Sarnath (Hindi Ed.) P. 367. note 1.
3 Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā (PTS.) Vol III. PP. 241ff.; DPPN. I. P 12.
4. Cf. DPPN. I. P. 320.
5. Ibid. II P. 237
6. MN. (Sarnath Hindi Ed.) P. 366.
7. Cf. DPPN. I. P. 36.
8. Ibid. II. P. 652.

notwithstanding, false evidence and bribery prevailed.[1] Indiscipline and lack of order were a common feature of the court[2] and the hands of the king were so full that he sometimes outspokenly admitted his disgust and failure before no less a personality than the Buddha[3] himself.

Prasenajita's personal religion, liberalism, and catholicity

Stray references in the Buddhist Pāli literature have led some scholars[4] to believe that Prasenajita had adopted the Buddhist faith in a full-fledged manner. The Samyutta Nikāya claims him to have gone to the fold of the Buddha, the Dhamma, and the Saṃgha and thus to have accepted an Upāsakahood.[5] But there are some other testimonies of the Pāli Buddhist literature itself, which we shall discuss shortly, that contradict the above Buddhist contention and clearly point out that, despite his immense respect, liberalism and tolerance for the Buddha as well as his order and his faith, Prasenajita did neither leave the fold of the traditional Vedic religion nor ceased to observe its practices. It is to the great credit of ancient Indian kings that without compromising their own personal positions about their respective faiths, practices, and observances, they hardly ever took any part in the religious rivalries of their times. Their catholic views and liberal treatment of all the sects prevailing in their domains were in marked contrast with those of their many a counterpart of ancient Rome or of Muslim India or of early modern Europe, when religious

1. Aṭṭhakaraṇa Sutta. SN. (Sarnath Hindi Ed.) Pt. I. P. 71.
2. Dhammachetiya Suttanta MN (Sarnath Hindi Ed) PP 365-6.
3. Ibid SN. (Sarnath Hindi Ed.) Pt. 71.
4. Cf. B. C. Law, Tribes In Ant. India. P. 128 ; Malalasekera, DPPN. II. PP 128ff. ; Rockhill, The Life of Buddha, PP. 50. and 114 ; Fuhrer, Monumental Antiquities And Inscriptions In N. W. P. and Oudh. P 307.
5. Dahara Sutta II(. 1.1 (Sarnath Hindi Ed. Pt. I. P. 67).

persecutions of those, who differed from the royal religious creed, became the order of the day. In that contrast lies the greatness of a Prasenajita, a Bimbisāra, an Aśoka, a Harṣa, or an Akbar.

Prasenajita's liberality and gifts transcended all the mutual bickerings of the various religious sects of his time. If he built the famous Rājakārāma monastery[1] in front of Jetavana or the Salalāgāra in the Jetavana[2] and gave incomparable gifts to the Buddhist order,[3] he had also gifted so many villages to the Brāhmaṇas, dedicated to the Vedic religion and learning. The whole proceeds of the villages named Ukkaṭṭhā,[4] Opasāda,[5] and Sālavaṭikā[6] were granted to Pokkharasādi, Caṇki, and Lohiccha (Lauhitya) respectively, who were the most famous Brāhmanas of his day and had held aloft the torch of Vedic learning. Bāvārı was another beneficiary[7] These are only a few examples of the very correct attitude of that great Kośalan monarch, who never got himself entangled in the manoeuvres of the contemporary religious factions.

Prasenajita seems to have remained a follower of the Vedic religion for ever. It was a custom of not only his age but has been perhaps of all the ages of India that religious discussions have been held between contenders of different

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1 Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed.) II P 15.
2 Sumangalavilāsinī, PTS. II P 407.
3. Refer to the description of the 'asadisadāna' in Sumangalavilāsinī, PTS. II. P. 654ff. ; Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā. PTS. III. P. 168-9 ; Vimānavatthu commentary. PTS. PP. 5-6.
4. DN (Bom. Uni Pub.) Pt. I. Ambaṭṭhasutta P. 97 ; Sumaṅgalavilāsinī. PTS. I. PP. 244-5
5. MN. Sarnath (Hindi) Ed. P. 394.
6. DN. (Bom. Uni. Pub) Pt. I. Lohichha Sutta. P. 257.
7. Cf. DPPN. II. PP. 279-80 ; B. C. Law, Tribes In Ant. India. P. 128.

religions and sects either on given topics or on general principles of religion, literature, and social morals. Such has been the practice amongst even co-religionists. Prasenajita seems to have been seized of that spirit and partly because of that as well as partly because of the fact that he was conscious of his equality with the Buddha in matters of age etc. he met the master on equal terms[1] and had frank discussions. We are informed[2] how, when he first met the Buddha, he frankly and directly asked questions, doubting the latter's superiority over other teachers like Purāna Kassapa, Makkhali Gośāla, Nigantha Nātaputta, Sañjaya Velatthi, Pakudha Kacchāyana, and Ajita Kesakambali. The Buddha did not give any convincing proof of his greatness and took up only a moral attitude. It is doubtful whether a king like Prasenajita with his high questioning attitude and strong personality would have found himself inclined to change from Vedicism to Buddhism and turn himself into an Upāsaka, as we are made to believe by the Buddhists[3] It is a case of rather what the Buddha and his followers would have wished than what it really was. Our doubts about the king's change of faith are further increased by the fact that even after his so-called Upāsakahood he is said to have performed a great but bloody sacrifice, doubtlessly Vedic, in which were tied to the sacrificial posts 500 oxen, a thousand calves—both male and female in equal numbers, 500 she goats, and 500 sheep.[4] They must have been ultimately sacrificed since no reference is made, whatsoever, of any change of his plan or intension even after the Buddha preached to him the total futility of such bloody sacrifices Aśvamedhas, Puruṣamedhas, Samyakapāśas,

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1. Cf. DPPN. II. PP. 168ff.; MN. Sarnath (Hindi) Ed. P 366; Rockhill, The Life of Buddha P. 49.
2. SN. III. 1 1 (Sarnath Hindi Ed Pt. I. PP. 67-8). The northern books call it the Kumāradṛṣṭānta Sūtra, Cf. Rockhill, The Life of Buddha. P. 49.
3. SN. III. 1.9 (Sarnath Hindi Ed. Pt. I. P. 72).
4. Ibid.

and Vājapeyas.[1] Nay, the king is shown once to have been even critical of his chief queen, Mallikā, for her having accepted every word of the Buddha without any application of her own reasoning.[2] Such an attitude of the king compelled the queen to take the aid of the Buddha himself in convincing the king of her grounds. There is one more pointer to his not being a Buddhist. The great Brāhmaṇa, Chanki, of Opasāda is shown in the Majjhima Nikāya[3] as bestowing great respect on the Buddha and as a ground for his behaviour he recounts the eminent followers of the master. A great king like Bimbisāra of Magadha and a great Brāhmaṇa like Pokkharasādi of Ukkaṭṭhā are named but significantly enough Prasenajita of Kośala is not named. Prasenajita was Chanki's benefactor and master and the village, Opasāda, where he lived, had been granted to him free of all taxes by the king. There was every occasion for Caṇki to name his master, Prasenajita, and his non-mention undoubtedly indicates that the latter was not a Buddhist.

It may be concluded that Prasenajita was a follower of the Vedic religion but he limited it to his own personal self and did not insist that others also should follow the same. It never stood in his way as far as his well-meant respects to the Buddha and hearkening to his moral advice were concerned. It was his custom to go very often to the Jetavana and discuss with the Lord his administrative affairs, about the principles of which he got instruction from the Master on many occasions.[4] He felt and once expressed great admiration for

1. Ibid-
2. MN. Sarnath (Hindi) Ed. PP. 359-360.
3. Ibid. P. 395.
4. Refer in this connection to the Introduction to the Janasandha Jātaka (Cowell's Eng Ed) Vol. IV. P. 109 ; SN. Sarnath Hindi Ed., III. 1.7 ; III. 1.10 ; III. 2.1 ; III. 2 9 etc. The whole kosala Saṁyutta of the SN. is devoted to a description of the mutual relationship of Prasenajita and the Buddha.

the discipline in the Buddhist order and enviously bemoaned that the same was not the case in his own court.[1] His queens, particularly Mallikā, a follower of the Buddha, were allowed perfect liberty to listen to the Buddhist preachings and on their bidding he had even allowed Ānanda to regularly go to the inner apartments of the palace with the consequence that the king had to put up with all the irresponsible gibes regarding his (Ānanda's)* conduct in the harem.[2] It is obvious that there could not be any greater respect to the order nor a keener sense of religious tolerance. That it was not reserved for the Buddhists and the towering personality of their master alone but was extended to all is proved by the Jatila Sutta of the Samyutta Nikāya.[3] In fact, one may suspect that the Buddhists took too much advantage of his tolerant attitude. The Sārattha-ppakāsinī, the Samyutta Nikāya commentary, states[4] that once the king had given to the heretics some land in close proximity to the Jetavana so that they might build a monastery for their own use. The Buddhists did not at all like that prospect, the master himself went in protest to the court,[5] and got the whole project abandoned.[6] It was all against the king's wishes, who, we are told, had consistently refused to entertain any idea of revoking his earlier decision despite the fact that the Buddha had earlier sent almost all his chief disciples one by one to get it revoked. The Buddhists tell us that the king had been bribed by the heretics,

1. Dhammachetiya Suttanta, MN. II 4.9 (Sarnath Hindi Ed. PP. 365-6)
2. Cf. Hardy. A Manual of Buddhism. P. 297.
3. Sarnath Hindi Ed. Pt I. PP. 74-5.
4. PTS Ed. Vol III. P. 218.
5. It was usual with the king that he himself often went to the Jetavana to see the Buddha and not that the Buddha ever went to the court.
6. The land was then granted to the Buddhist order and the Rājakārāma was built there. Cf. DPPN. II. P. 720.

which seems certainly to be a lame justification of their intolerant and a result of 'Odium theologicum.' Is it not simply ridiculous to think that the king with his unparalleled respect and admiration for the Buddha should have been susceptible to bribe against the Buddhist Samgha ?

Prasenajita's pathetic end

Prasenajita's death was hastened through revenge and treachery combined against him. We have already discussed[1] how courtiers and judges were able to poison the ears of Prasenajita against Bandhula. The latter fell a prey to their wicked design and was ultimately beheaded. The king, having come to know later of the reality of the whole episode, had been taken by genuine remorse and penitence and appointed Dīrgha Kārāyana to the post of his commander-in-chief, previously held by Bandhula The latter was maternal uncle to Dīrgha Kārāyana, who had, however, no intention to forget and forgive. He found a ready ally in Vidūḍabha.[2]

Viḍūdabha happened to be perhaps the only son[3] and so the successor to Prasenajita. He was born of Vāsabhakhattiyā, the slave-daughter of Mahānāma Śākya. She was given the position of a queen and Vidūdabha that of the crown-prince. The king, after knowing her real parentage,

1. Refer to Rahul Sankrityayan, Buddhacharyā (Hindi) P. 475.

2. Fausboll's Ed. Vol IV PP. 145ff· ; Refer also to Rahul Sankrityayan, Buddhacharyā (Hindi), PP. 473ff

3. Elsewhere (Rockhill, The Life of Buddha, P 48. Note 1) we are told that Jeta Kumāra, the owner of the Jetavana before it was bought by Anāthapiṇḍika, was also a son to Prasenajita. But he is nowhere spoken of in the Pāli Buddhist literature as such and does not seem to have held any position of importance. The chief queen, Mallikā, had only one child--a daughter, Vājirā (who was married to Ajātaśatru). Cf. Papañcasūdanī, Aluvihara series, Colombo, Vol. II. P. 751 ; MN. PTS. Ed. II. P. 110.

withheld all the privileges of royalty from him as well as from his mother. They were restored to their respective positions only after the Buddha interceded and pleaded on their behalf.[1] Prasenajita seems to have not only conferred again the royal privileges on Vidūḍabha but also made him a commander[2] of his army, presumably under the Commander-in-chief. But the prince did not cease to nurture a strong sense of personal affront and was waiting for an opportunity to dislodge his father from the throne. He had also made up his mind to take revenge of the insulting treatment[3] that the Śākyas had meted out to him and with that purpose in view he was impatient for the throne. He found a ready ally in Dīrgha Kārāyaṇa, dissatisfied for reasons stated before.[4]

The narrative[5] goes, "after the murder of the innocent Bandhula, the king was devoured by remorse and had no piece of mind, felt no joy in being king. He thought to see the master and went to the country town of the Śākyas, named Ulumpa,[6] where the master was staying. Thither went the king, pitched a camp not far from the park, and with a few attendants went to the monastery to salute the master. The five symbols of royalty,[7] he handed to Kārāyaṇa and alone

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1. Introduction to the Katthahāri Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed.) I. PP. 133ff
2. MN Sarnath (Hindi) Ed P 360 We are informed (Cf. Rahul Sankrityayan, Buddhacharyā-Hindi, P 474) that Vidūḍabha was given the post of a senāpati at a time when he was only an infant but that seems to be unlikely Refer also to Rockhill, Op Cit P 112
3. Refer to the introduction to the Bhaddasāla Jātaka, No. 465
4. Cf Rahul Sankrityayan, Op. Cit PP. 475ff
5. Introduction to the Bhaddasāla Jātaka, No. 465, Cowell's Ed. Ed Vol IV PP 95-6
6. The town is named 'Metalumpa' in the MN. (Sarnath Hindi Ed) P. 364
7. The five symbols of royalty were, according to the Dulva (Rockhill, Op. Cit. P. 113), the King's crown, his parasol, his sword, his jewelled yak-tail and his richly embroidered shoes.

entered the perfumed chamber. All that followed must be described as in the Dhammacetiya Sutta.[1] When he entered the perfumed chamber, Kārāyaṇa took those symbols of royalty and made Viḍūdabha king[2]; and leaving behind for the king one horse and a serving woman, he went to Sāvatthī."

"After pleasant conversation with the master, the king on his return saw no army. He enquired of the woman and learnt what had been done. Then he set out for the city of Rājagaha, resolved to take his nephew with him and capture Viḍūḍabha. It was late, when he came to the city and the gates were shut and lying down in a shed, exhausted by exposure to wind and sun, he died there. When the night began to grow brighter, the woman began to wail, 'my Lord, the king of Kośala is past help.' The sound was heard and news came to the king. He performed the obsequies of his uncle with great magnificence."

The above account hardly needs any elucidation. It is clear that the king was taken unawares and in the final hours of his need he could not rely on his army, which seems to have sided with its commander, Vidūdabha, who became the new king, and the chief commander, Dīrgha Kārāyaṇa. The latter, it may be surmised, must have been rewarded by the treacherous prince for the ignominous part he played. Shorn of his glory, bereft of his kingdom and all that went with it, Prasenajita, it is stated in the Aṭṭhakathā,[3] suffered from severe exhaustion by the time he reached Rājagṛiha, took too much of food and drank plenty of water. That created perhaps indigestion and consequently either dysentery or

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1 Ibid.

2. The Dulva, however, says that before that event Dīrgha Kārāyana had remained faithful to Prasenajita and had refused to become an accomplice of Viḍūḍabha in his designs against his father. Rockhill, Op. Cit. P. 112.

3. Quoted by Rahul Sankrityayan, Op. Cit. P. 480, note 1.

cholera and he died before he could do anything to regain his lost fortune.

It is explicit from the relevant accounts that Prasenajita survived only for a few days after his fateful meeting with the Buddha at Metalumpa—only for that much time, which he might have taken to reach Rājagṛiha on a horse-back. As he claimed at that meeting an age of eighty years for himself as well as for the Buddha,[1] a few conclusions can be easily drawn. Firstly, that he died in the eightieth year of his life. Secondly, that the Buddha also, who is traditionally believed to have died in his eightieth year, did not survive him long. Thirdly, that the generally accepted date of the Buddha's Nirvāṇa, 483 B. C., may be accepted as the year of Prasenajita's death as well as the year of the accession of Viḍūḍabha to the Kośalan throne.

Viḍūḍabha and the nightfall of the dynasty

Having treacherously occupied the throne of Śrāvastī, Viḍūḍabha is noted for only one act and that was the cruel massacre of the Śākyas of Kapilavastu. Its cause was the insulting treatment that he had received at their hands, while on a visit to Kapilavastu.[2] He had taken a promise, "Yes, let them pour milk-water over the seat I sat in, to wash it. When I am king, I will wash the place with their hearts' blood."[3] His forcible usurpation of his father's throne was perhaps more a result of his impatience at waiting too long for feeding fat his grudge against the Śākyas than his own personal dissatisfaction at some bad treatment, which he might have received at his father's (Prasenajita's) hands.

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1. 'भगवाऽपि कोसलको अहम्पि कोसलको,
   भगवाऽपि असीतिको, अहम्पि असीतिको' etc.
   MN. Dhammachetiya Sutta ; Rockhill, Op. Cit. P. 114.
2. Cf. Introduction to the Bhaddasāla Jātaka, No. 465.
   (Fausboll's Ed)
3. Ibid Cowell's Eng. Ed., Vol. IV. PP. 92ff.

The details of Viḍūḍabh's campaign against the Śākyas need not detain us here, since they would be found fully discussed in the next chapter. Suffice it to say here that, though successful at the weaker might of the Śākyas, he could not hope his kingdom to survive for any long period against the neighbouring empire of Magadha, which was rising to the east and southeast of his own (Viḍūḍabha's) territories. The Buddhist accounts say[1] that Viḍūḍabha and his army were swept away by a sudden flood in the Achirāvatī, when they were on their way back from Kapilavastu. It is difficult, however, to vouchsafe the veracity of this tradition for paucity of evidence. The deluge seems to have been caused by the surging tide of Magadhan imperialism. But even supposing that Viḍūdabha was swept away, the Kośalan dynasty seems to have managed to continue, howsoever insignificantly, for a few generations more after him.

Sumitra, fourth from Viḍūḍabha (Śūdraka or Kṣudraka of the Purānas),[2] was the last independent sovereign of Kośala and with him the inevitable extinction of the dynasty came. It was the nightfall of the solar line, which never saw its morning again. The Kośalan territories thenceforward formed part of Magadha and are expressly mentioned to have been under Mahāpadmananda's authority and direct sway.

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1. Cf. DPPN. II. P. 877 ; Cf. J C. Jain, Life In Ancient India, PP 256 and 303 The Jains, however, believe that the flood, which caused the destruction of Kośala, came as a result of the curse of two angered hermits. Hiuen Tsiang says that Viḍūḍabha died of a fire (T. Watters, On Yuan Chwang's Travels II. PP. 395ff), an account which seems to be based on that of the Dulva (Rockhill, Op. Cit. PP. 121-2).

2. सुमित्रस्तत्सुतो भावि वंशनिष्ठान्त एवहि ।
   Śiva, II. Sec. 5 39-41 ; Refer also to Bhāg. IX..12.15 ; Viṣ. IV. 22.10-12 ; Mat. 270.14-15.
   again
   इक्ष्वाकुणामयं वंशः सुमित्रान्तो भविष्यति ।
   Bhāg. IX. 12.16 ; Mat. 270-16 ; Viṣ. IV. 22,13 ; Śiva. II. Sec. 5.39-42 ; DKA. P. 68.

The causes of Kośala's ultimate downfall must have been many and varied. As a matter of fact they had been incipient since long and what Mahā Kosala or his illustrious son, Prasenajita, provided to the dynasty was a temporary flash and not a radiance to last very long. If we may so conjecture, had there been any strong and ambitious power either in Magadha or anywhere near Kośala during the post-Janmejaya and Pre-Bimbisārian period, the solar kingdom would have met its doom long ago. It is doubtful whether in that case Prasenajita and his father would have been as successful as they were. But what about their own reigns? All that glittered in the days of Prasenajita was not gold. The signs of the downfall of his kingdom were inherent in its own system and they must have been visible to him. That he complained to the Buddha of indiscipline in his royal court[1] and false evidence and bribery prevailing in his judicial courts[2] has already been referred to. He felt a disgust and delegated his judicial functions to his ministers[3]—a sense of failure and an implicit resignation to the inevitable, the end. There was lack of peace and order in the countryside to the result that the soldiers had to do police-duties[4] and the king had sometimes to march in person against the anti-social elements, the dacoits.[5] Frontier rebellions were not unknown and they seriously demanded the personal attention of the king himself.[6] Punishments were

The causes of Kośalan downfall

1. Dhammachetiya Suttanta, MN. Sarnath (Hindi) Ed. PP. 365-6.
2. Aṭṭhakaraṇa Sutta, SN. Sarnath (Hindi) Ed. Pt. I. P. 71.
3. Ibid.
4. Pātalisutta, SN. (Sarnath Hindi Ed.) Pt. II. P. 594.
5. Sāratthappakāsinī. PTS. Vol. I. PP. 133ff.; MN. (Sarnath Hindi Ed.) PP. 353-54.
6. Cf. Kalāya Muṭṭhi Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed.) II. P. 74; Kosiya Jātaka, (Fausboll's Ed.) II. P. 208.

high and severe, but with no appreciable results perhaps. Despite all these ills, strong and materially powerful Prasenajita held out as long as he was at the helm of affairs, which his weak successors simply could not do. Fissiperous tendencies were already there in the various vassalages and to those were added the cruelties of Vidūḍabha against the Śākyas. Surely it could not have induced the vassals into submission but rather open resistance. His treacherous conduct against his own father, Prasenajita, must have weakened the peoples' faith in him. In an age, when the 'Varṇāśrama Dharma' was the guiding social force, his origin from a slave-woman might have generated public disrespect for the dynasty. All these causes combined together in bringing the downfall of the Kośalan kingdom and the new imperialist surge of the powerful Magadhan empire engulfed it.

CHAPTER VII

THE GAṆA STATES OF KOŚALA

The Historicity of The Gaṇa States

It is now generally accepted that ancient India knew non-monarchical form of government also, besides the monarchical. The kingdom of Kośala was a feudal state, which included within its suzerainty a few Gaṇas or Saṁghas, as they were called. The most important of those were the Śākyas of Kapilavastu, the Koliyas of Rāmagrāma, the Moriyas of Pipphalivana, and the Mallas of Kusinārā and Pāvā.[1] The Kālāmas of Kesaptta, whose identification is still uncertain, are also taken by some to have been under the Kośalan overlordship.[2] These Gaṇa states of Kośala were a chief feature of the Mahājanapada period[3] and mostly they were contemporaneous with the Greek republics.

Our sources of enquiry about the Saṁghas are almost all Buddhistic. But the picture they draw is hardly clear and, consequently, even the existence of some of those non-monarchical states is doubted by a certain group of scholars. Thus, for example, the Śākyan rājā, whom Dr. Rhys Davids took to be an office-holder appointed from time to time through the method of election,[4] was, according to Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, "not elected but hereditary and not a mere president, but a ruler." He says, "The Śākya chief was not only the chief of his clan but was a veritable ruler or rājā."[5] If his view is accepted, the Śākyan constitution would have to be treated

1. DN. (Bom. Uni. Pub.) II PP. 131-2
2. Raychaudhuri, PHAI. P. 155 ; Indian Culture. II. P. 808.
3. Refer to AN. (PTS.) Pt. I. P. 213 for a description of the 'Solasamahājanapadas' in the days of Buddha.
4. Buddhist India, PP. 13-14.
5. Charmichael Lectures, First series, PP. 161-2.

as a hereditary monarchy, rather than a non-monarchical democracy. It seems the doubt about the non-monarchical character of the Śākyas had arisen in Dr. Bhandarkar's mind because of the title of 'rājā' being conferred on Bhaddiya.[1] There are sufficient grounds, however, to disprove those doubts. At various places in the Buddhist canon the saṁghas and Gaṇas[2] have been referred to as non-monarchical form of states and the Śākyas alongwith many others have been collectively mentioned as a people in contrast to the monarchies, which have been distinguished through the names of their kings. Thus Aṁbaṣṭha refers to the Śākyas collectively, while complaining of their haughtiness to the Buddha, the most illustrious of them.[3] In the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta Ajātaśatru[4] has been referred to as the only king, who claimed the shares of the Buddha's remains. Others, who claimed the remains, were not monarchical rulers but peoples, who collectively ruled over themselves as separate administrative entities. Amongst those were the Lichchavīs of Vaiśālī, the Śākyas of Kapilavastu, the Buliyas of Allakappa, the Koliyas of Rāmagrāma, the Moriyas of Pipphalivana, and the Mallas of Pāvā.[5] The Mallas of Kusinārā, in whose territory the Buddha had attained his Nirvāṇa, had initially refused to share the

1. Vinayapiṭaka, chullavagga. VII 1.3 ff.
2 Vinayapiṭaka, Bhikkhunipātimokkha, Samghādidesa, 2 (Sarnath Hindi Ed. p. 44).
3. 'चण्डा भो गोतम, सक्य जाति, फरुसा भो गोतम सक्य जाति' etc. DN. (Bom. Uni. Pub) Pt. I P. 101.
4. अथखो राजा मागधो अजातसत्तु वेदेहिपुत्तो कोसिनारकानं मल्लानं दूतं पाहेसि–भगवाऽपि खत्तियो अहम्पि खत्तियो etc. DN. (Bom. Uni. Pub.) Pt. II. P. 131.
5 अस्सोसुं खो वेसालिका लिच्छवी…कपिलवस्थवा सक्या…अल्लकप्पका बुलयो…रामगामका कोलिया…पावेय्यका मल्ला… भगवा किर कुसिनारायं परिनिब्बुतो'ति कोसिनारकानं मल्लानं दूतं पाहेसुं etc. Ibid. P. 131.

remains with all those claimants. It is significant that, while expressing their refusal, they addressed those people as Saṁghas and Ganas.[1] These are very direct references to prove that, unlike Ajātaśatru, the abovenamed peoples were non-monarchical. They have been further referred to as Samghas in the Kauṭilyan Arthaśāstra.[2] There is, however, an even more unmistakable reference, where the contrast between the two types of administrations, viz. monarchical and non-monarchical, has been more pointedly drawn out. In an interesting debating contest regarding religious principles between Sachchaka, a disciple of Nigantha Ṅātaputta (Mahāvīra) and the Buddha, the latter asks Sachchaka whether the consecrated Kṣatriya kings like Prasenajita and Ajātaśatru could without any check order anyone's execution, his burning alive, or his exile. In reply it is said that to say nothing of those consecrated kings alone, the samghas and Ganas like the Vajjis and the Mallas even could do the same.[3] Further, the Buddha in an indirect answer to Vassakāra, the Magadhan minister of Ajātaśatru, refers to the full and frequent assemblies of the Vajjis and of complete concord in those assemblies.[4]

These are proofs positive to show that collective and non-monarchical rule was prevalent in the days of the Buddha and specific designations-Samgha or Gaṇa, were applied to such constitutions. Pānini, who is accepted by many scholars to

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1. एवं वुत्ते कोसिनारका मल्ला ते संघे गणे एतदवोचुं-भगवा अम्हाकं गामक्खेते परिनिब्बुतो। न मयं दस्साम भगवतो सरीरानं भाग'ति। Ibid. P 132.

2. BK. XI. 1.6.

3. इमेसं पिहि भो गोतम संघानं गणानं सेयथिदं वज्जिनं मल्लानं etc. MN. I. 4.5.33-

4. Mahāparinibbāna Sutta (DN. Bom. Uni. Pub.) Pt. II. PP. 60ff.

have been more or less contemporaneous with the Buddha[1], refers to two types of Janapadas, the first under the kings and the second under the Saṁghas or Gaṇas.[2] He used the two terms, Saṁgh and Gaṇa, as synonymous.[3] Kauṭilya uses the word śreṇī in the sense of a Saṁgha or Gaṇa.[4]

The Śākya Gaṇa

The existence of the Śākyas as a non-monarchical state is questioned, like Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, by Dr. U. N. Ghoshal.[5] He accepts, no doubt, "that according to the late Jātaka accounts the Śākyan constitution was a republic with a sovereign clan assembly and probably, though not certainly, a supreme magistrate",[6] But he is further of opinion : "we must, however, admit that, according to the fundamental canons of historical criticism, the late Jātaka evidence can only be accepted as authentic, when it agrees or at least is not in conflict with the earlier and more reliable testimony of the canon".[7] He concludes : "it would seem that the older

1. Cf. V. S. Agrawal, Pāṇinikālīna Bhāratavarṣa (Hindi) PP. 467ff. There are various opinions regarding the date of Pāṇini. Goldstuker and Sir R. G. Bhandarkar (quoted in Pāṇini-Kālīna Bhāratavarṣa, P 267) thought that he flourished in the 7th century B. C. ; K.B. Pathak (JBORS , XI. P. 83) put him in the last quarter of the 7th century B. C. ; D R. Bhandarkar thought him to have flourished in the 6th century B. C. (quoted in Pāṇinikālīna Bhāratavarṣa, P. 467) ; H. C. Raychaudhuri (History of The Vaiṣṇava Sect. 1936. P. 30) accepted him to have flourished in the 5th century B. C. The sixth century B. C is, however, the most generally accepted date of Pāṇini.
2. Aṣṭādhyāyī, IV. 1.61.
3. 'संघोद्घौ गणप्रशंसयोः' Ibid. III. 3.86.
4. काम्बोज सुराष्ट्रक्षत्रियश्रेण्यादयो वार्ताशस्त्रोपजीविनः । लिच्छिविक व्रजिक मल्लक मद्रक कुकुरकुरुपांचालादयो राजशब्दोपजीविनः ॥ Arthaśāstra, BK. XI. 1.5-6.
5. IHQ. XXI. PP. 1ff.
6. Ibid. P. 4.
7. Ibid. PP. 4-5.

and the most authentic account recognised the Śākya constitution as a monarchy with a permanent clan assembly".[1] The authenticity of the Jātaka accounts, however, cannot be dismissed simply because of their late—though not very late, composition. They often delineate genuine historical tradition and their testimony has to be accepted, when it "agrees or at least is not in conflict with the earlier and more reliable testimony of the canon."[2] Judged on this criterion, set up by Dr. Ghoshal himsef, we fail to find any open conflict or contradiction between the two—the Jātaka and the canonical testimonies, as far as the Śākyan constitution is concerned. Not that there are contradictions, rather the agreements are many, e. g., both Śuddhodana[3] and Bhaddiya,[4] as in the old canonical accounts, are mentioned as rājās in the Jātakas as well. The assembly-hall of the Śākyas, where they used to sit to discuss and decide about the state-matters, has also been referred to in the canons[5] at many places just as in the Jātakas.[6] It is curious that Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, in spite of such clear agreements between the older canon and the Jātakas refuses to recognise the historical authenticity of the latter. That is not the last ; he sometimes doubts the authenticity of the old canon also and seems to feel that in certain cases they are concocted. For example, he does not accept the correctness of the title rājā, which has been given to Śuddho-

1. Ibid. P. 7.
2. Ibid. PP. 4-5.
3. Śuddhodana has been called a 'Mahārāja' in the preamble to the Jātaka No 447 (Fausboll's Ed. IV. P. 50) and a rājā in the Mahāpadāna Sutta-DN. (Bom. Uni. Pub.) Pt. II. P. 7 and also in the Lalitavistara, XII. 115.
4. Bhaddiya has been styled as a 'rājā' in the preamble to the Jātaka No. 10 (Fausboll's Ed. I. P. 40) ; Dph. Comm. I. PP. 133ff. ; Vinayapiṭaka, Cullavagga, VII. 1.3ff.
5. MN. 2.1.3 (Sarnath Hindi Ed. P. 210) and 2.2.7 (Sarnath Hindi Ed. P. 267) ; DN. 1 3. (Sarnath Hindi Ed. P. 35).
6. Introduction to the Bhaddasāla Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed. Vol. IV. PP. 144ff.).

dana in the Mahāpadāna suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya,[1] simply because of the fact that at so many other places the father of Gautama Buddha has been mentioned without that title. He concludes on that account that the authority of the canon "evidently tries to bring Gautama's career into line with that of the previous Buddhas, three of whom (Vipassi, Sikhi, and Vessabhu) are provided with royal fathers and capitals".[2] The learned doctor's arguments sound extremely strange, if we consider the facts that not all the previous Buddhas, other than those cited by him, were royal personages. One of the simple qualifications, which were required for the brith of a Buddha, was that the family of his birth should be either a Kṣatriya or a Brāhmaṇa one. Royalty was not deemed to be a condition for the same.[3] Dr. R. C. Majumdar is right in pointing out that "it must be regarded as somewhat singular that the canonical texts should deliberately put a lie in the mouth of the Buddha himself (for he himself describes his father a rājā) about his father for no better reason that three out of six previous Buddhas had royal fathers".[4] It is difficult then to avoid the conclusion, if both the sources of the Jātaka accounts as well as the canons are taken into consideration, that at sometime or other both Śuddhodana and Bhaddiya bore the title of 'rājā'. That this title was not always attached to their names is proved by the canon. Like Śuddhodana, who is mentioned only by his name in some references, Bhaddiya also has been mentioned in the Ghaṭikāra Sutta[5] simply by his name and without the title of 'rājā'. It is to be noted, however, that neither in the old canon nor in the Jātakas it is clear as to what did this rājāhood really signify or as to what was the scope of its authority. Even the Vinayapitaka, to which Dr. Ghoshal has rightly laid great

1. Bombay Uni. Pub. Pt. II. P. 7.
2. Op. Cit. P. 6.
3. Thomas : The Life of Buddha, 1952, P. 29.
4. IHQ., XXVII. P. 332.
5. SN. (Sarnath Hindi Ed.) Vol. 1. P. 35.

importance, does not make it clear as to what was meant by Bhaddiya's 'rajjaṁ'.[1] Whether it was rulership in the sense in which the word is used in relation to kings or simply a phrase denoting the authority of the head of the Śākyan administrative set-up bearing the title of 'rājā' is not expressly told. But what has been previously said about the Śākyas as a people collectively ruling over themselves would certainly point out that the Śākya 'rājā' was not a king but the head of their non-monarchical administrative set-up, bearing that title. It may be suggested that after Śuddhodana had been sufficiently aged or had been even dead, Bhaddiya became the Śākya rājā. It was in such a circumstance that he chose to retire from worldly life and give up his 'rajjaṁ', i. e., authority. Taken in this perspective, the Śākyan constitution would have to be accepted not as a monarchy under a single ruler but a collective democracy represented by its head bearing the title of 'rājā' and having his seat of authority in Kapilavastu.

The form of the Kośalan Gaṇas

Pāṇini refers to a type of saṁgha, known as 'Āyudhajīvī'.[2] Kauṭilya also in his Arthaśāstra divides the non-monarchical Gaṇas or 'śreṇis', as he called them,[3] into two categories. The first were those, whose members lived by the profession of agriculture, trade, and arms and the second, whose members possessed the title of 'rājā. The members, of the Mallakas, i. e., the Malla Sāṁgha, according to Kauṭilya[4] and the Kāśikā,[5] were designated as rājās.

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1. Vinayapiṭaka, Chullavagga, VII. 1.3.
2. आयुधजीवीसंघाञ्ञ्यड् वाहीकेष्वब्राह्मणराजन्यात् ।
   Aṣṭādhyāyī, V. 3 114.
3. Bk. XI. 1.5-6.
4. Bk. XI. 1 5-6.
5. Ed. by Bala Sastrī, Banaras, 1898. P. 456.

But curiously enough they are never spoken of as such in the Buddhist canon. The Śākyas do not find any mention in Kauṭilya's list The reason is clear. Unlike the Mallas and Vajjis, who in some capacity or the other had been able to maintain their existence—howsoever insignificant it might have been, upto the days of the great Mauryan empire, the Śākyas had long been annihilated out of existence by the revengeful, angry, and ferocious Viḍūḍabha.[1] Mahānāma, the distinguished Śākyan, is described in the Vinayapiṭaka[2] to have practised the profession of agriculture. The cornfields of Śuddhodana also have been referred to in the Majjhima Nikāya.[3] The inference might be drawn that the Śākyas belonged to the type of samghas, which practised the arts of agriculture, trade, and arms-weilding.

There are many other references on the other hand, which tend to show that they belonged to the second category, where the supreme members were called 'rājās'. The introduction to the Bhaddasāla Jātaka[4] speaks of the Śākya kings (sākyarājāno) discussing in their assembly-hall the proposal of Prasenajita for the hands of a Śākyan maiden. Vāsabhakhattiyā, whom the śākyas managed to give in marriage to Prasenajita through a strategem of showing her to be a genuine śākyan girl, is said to have been the daughter of the śākyarājā,[5] Mahānāma. The Kuṇāla Jātaka,[6] while describing a quarrel between the śākyas and koliyas for the irrigation-waters of the river Rohiṇī, speaks of the śākya rājās and their families (rājakulānam). Such instances, as quoted above from the Jātakas, says Dr. Majumdar,[7] "hardly leave

1. Bhaddasāla Jātaka, Vol. IV. (Fausboll's Ed.) PP. 145ff.
2. Cullavagga. VII. 1.1.
3. Sarnath Hindi Ed. P. 349.
4. No. 465 (Fausboll's Ed.), Vol. IV. PP. 144ff.
5. Cf. R. C. Majumdar, Corporate Life, P. 237.
6. Fausboll's Ed. Vol. V. PP. 412ff.
7. Corporate Lile, P. 238.

any doubt that the śākyas like the Lichchavis had a number of rājās, who were probably members of the supreme assembly ruling over the state. We hear also of a class of officers called 'uparājāno' or viceroys and this makes it probable that like the Lichchavi rājās, the śākya rājās were also heads of minor administrative units. So far, therefore, as the evidence goes, the śākya and Lichchavi constitutions appear to resemble each other to a great extent." Despite that similarity between the two constitutions, however, it is doubtful whether the title 'rājā' of the members of the supreme assembly had any sufficient antiquity. References have already been cited before[1] to show that the śākyan Gaṇa conformed to that type, whose members practised the arts of trade and agriculture. Nowhere in the older accounts of the Buddhist canon has any of the śākyas, other than śuddhodana and Bhaddiya been styled as a rājā. Contrary to the Jātaka accounts, where[2] the śākyas have been described as 'rājās,' the older canon of the Buddhists invariably introduces them either by their individual and personal names or by their clan-name. As a matter of fact, even the Lichchavis and the Vajjis too have not been embellished by the titles of 'rājās' in these older accounts of the Pāli canon. It is only in the later accounts,[3] particularly the Jātakas,[4] that the Lichchavis in

1. See Ante. page 245 ; Cullavagga, VII. 1 1. and MN. (Sarnath Hindi Ed.) P. 349.
2. Introduction to the Bhaddasāla Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed) Vol. IV PP. 144ff ; Vol. V· PP. 412ff.
3. नोच्चमध्यमज्येष्ठानुपालिता एकैक एव मन्यते अहं राजा अहं राजेति । न च कस्यचिच्छिष्यत्वमुपगच्छति । Lalitavistara, Bib. Ind. Ed. Ch. III. P. 21 ; Refer also to the Arthaśāstra, Bk. XI. 1.5-6.
4. तत्थ निच्चकालं रज्जं कारेत्वा वसंतानं येव राजुनं सत्तसहस्सानि सत्तसतानि सत्त च। राजानो होंति तत्तका, येव उपराजानो तत्तका सेनापतिनो तत्तका भण्डागारिका ।
Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed.) I. P. 504.

general, like the śākyas, have been styled as 'rājās' and even their numbers also have been given. Kauṭilya[1] puts the Mallas also in that very category, whose members bore the title of 'rājā'. These rājās were undoubtedly the members of the respective sovereign ruling assemblies of the Gaṇas. It seems quite probable, however, that the title 'rājā' was given to them pretty long after the days of the Buddha and perhaps just on the eve of the beginning of the Mauryan supremacy. At the start there was probably only one rājā—the president, and a single uparājā, the vice-president, of the assembly and the state. How and why the custom of each member of the assembly calling himself a rājā originated and developed is nowhere mentioned. Both the Sanskrit and Pāli traditions[2] tell us that originally most of the Gaṇas were monarchies ruled over by Kṣatriya kings. It is quite probable that even after their change and growth as democratic saṁghas, their ruling members found it difficult to forget their historical background and through the title 'rājā' kept on cherishing their monarchical past and perhaps also their right to govern. Dr. Altekar suggests[3] that they were entitled as 'rājās' because they were kṣatriyas. Can it be claimed, however, that the Ganas, whose ruling members were not styled as 'rājās', were all of non-kṣatriya origin ?

History of the Śākyas

The Buddha traces[4] the origin of the Śākyas from Okkāka (Ikṣvāku). Okkāka (not exactly Ikṣvāku but some one of his later descendants), after having given a promise to one of his younger queens that it would be her son (younger than other princes), who would succeed him, banished his elder sons—Okkāmukha, Karakaṇḍa,

Their Origin

1. Arthaśāstra, Bk. XI. 1.5-6.
2. Cf. Jayaswal, Hindi Polity, P. 23 and P. 53.
3 State And Government, 1949 Ed. PP. 74-5.
4. DN, Bom. Uni. Pub., Pt. I. P. 103.

Haṭṭhinika and Sinīpura, from his kingdom. They left for the hilly slopes of the Himālaya and began to live in a śākavana by the side of a mountain lake. Having settled there, they, for fear of their race being sullied by establishing marriage-relations with other peoples, entered into nuptial relattions with their own sisters. King Okkāka, being informed of their whereabouts by his ministers, praised[1] their power and resourcefulness by calling them 'Sakya' and 'Paramasakya'. Since then they came to be known as Śākyas. The Sumaṅgalavilāsinī[2] not only treats this story in greater detail but adds some new elements as well. According to it, Okkāka, i. e., Ikṣvāku in the line of Mahāsāmanta, the Great King—Elect, was the ancestor or the śākyas. After their exile they decided to colonize new territories for themselves and proceeded tawards the Himālaya. They met the Bodhisatva, Kapila, who had been born into a Brāhmaṇa family. The sage Kapila was a great ascetic and possessed full knowledge of the earth and heaven. He suggested to the princes to build a city at the auspicious site of his own hermitage and asked them to build a hut for himself somewhere else in the neighbourhood. The princes willingly did his bidding and in gratitude named their newly built city as Kapilavastu.[3] As days passed by, the four brothers married their own sisters, began to live in happiness, and their family came to be known as the Śākya kula. This account, it may be pointed out, was written quite long after the actual happenings and is full of fanciful conjectures. That its kernel is fairly historical, however, is borne out by some other Buddhist sources. The Mahāvaṁsa, which represents the sinhalese tradition, traces

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1. 'सक्या वत भो कुमारा, परम सक्या वत भो कुमारा'ति ।
   Ibid. P. 104, Sutta-Nipāta commentary, PTS. Vol I-PP 352ff. ; Refer also to the Dulva, Rockhill, Life of Buddha, P. 27.
2. Pt, I. PP. 258-60.
3. The Dulva wrongly says that Kapilavastu was situated on the bank of Bhāgīrathī Cf. Rockhill. Op. Cit. P. 11.

in great detail the genealogy of the śākyas of Kapilavastu from Okkāka.[1]

The śākyan genealogies, as given in the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī and the Mahāvaṁsa, find some support in the Purāṇas[2] too. Illustrious kings like Māndhātā, Sagara, Bhagīratha, Dilīpa, Aja, Daśaratha, and Rāma are noted by both the traditions to have flourished in the line of Ikṣvāku. No complete agreement, however, could be expected in the two testimonies. The source of the accounts given in the Mahāvaṁsa and the Sumangalavilāsinī is perhaps[3] the Mahāvastu. But the story in the Mahāvastu[4] is slightly different. There, though the original line is shown to have started from Mahāsāmanta, the king, who banished his sons from his kingdom, is said have ruled at Sāketa and is named as Sujāta instead of Okkāka. Besides, the exiled princes have been counted as five instead of four, as elsewhere,[5] the name of fifth prince being Opura.

These differences between the various sources, however, are very minor and non-significant and some conclusions may be easily drawn. It is certain that the śākyas were the progenies of Okkāka, i.e., either Iksvāku or very probably one of his descendants, who bore the name of Ikṣvāku and ruled at Sāketa, i.e., Ayodhyā. They came to be known as Śākyas because they inhabited a Śākavana, i.e., Śāla (Shorea robusta) forest tracts. They named their new capital, Kapilavastu, after the famous Brāhmaṇa sage, Kapila. They also practised the primitive custom of endogamy and married their own sisters in the beginning[6] That they did so because of

1. Mahāvamsa, Ch. II. Verses 1-24.
2. Viṣnu, Pt IV, 22 3 ; Vāyu 37, 283-4 , Mat. 270 12.
3. Cf. B C Law, Tribes In Ant. India, P. 246.
4. Ed Senart, Vol. Vol. I. PP. 348-52
5. DN (Bom. Uni. Pub.) Pt I. PP. 103-4 ; Sumangalavilāsinī, Pt I., PP 258ff. and Mahāvamsa, Translated by Gieger, P. 11.
6. DN (Bom. Uni. Pub.) Pt I, P. 103 ; Sumangalavilāsinī, Pt. I. PP. 258ff.

serious fears of their race being sullied as a result of marriages in families other than their own, all of which they haughtily thought to be inferior to theirs', is purely a lame rationalization by the Buddhist writers. In the beginning, it seems, endogamy-even sister-marriages-was prevalent in some countries of the world. Some sections of the Indian society also practised endogamy.[1] Prasenajita, when he demanded the hands of a Śākyan[2] maiden for himself, must have known that the śākyas were the descendants of that very Iksvāku, from whom his own family had descended. However, by the days of the Buddha sister-marriages in the śākyas had become either a thing of the past or very uncommon, even if prevalent. It is clear that since long before the sixth century B. C they had developed a practice of almost customarily marrying in the Koliya family and it seems fairly clear that lately they were almost free from the primitive custom of sister-marriages. Dr. E. J. Thomas,[3] the learned biographer of the Buddha, has concluded from the incidence of sister-marriages in the early stages of śākyan history that they were a non-Aryan people like so many others of their contemporaries in N. E. India. But that custom cannot be said to have been exclusively un-Aryan[4] and unless other positive proofs are adduced to the contrary, the śākyas have to be treated as of Aryan blood.

The late Dr. Vincent Smith believed in some racial and ethnological affinities between the Mongolian population of Tibet and those of the Indian Ganas.[5] But on a careful

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1 Refer to S. C Sirkar's 'Some aspects of the Earliest social History of India' PP 118ff.
2. Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed) Vol IV PP. 144-5, Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā. IV. 3.
3 The Life of Buddha, 3rd. Ed. 1952, P 23
4. Cf. Some Aspects of The Earliest Social History of India, S. C. Sirkar, PP. 118ff.
5. Quoted by Dr. K P Jayaswal, Hindu Polity, PP. 177ff.

perusal of the evidence at our disposal there is nothing definite to suggest that the Śākyas or the other hilly Gaṇas had any affinity with the Tibetans. Rather the positive data, which we have examined above, leave absolutely no doubt about their Aryan and Indian origin.

The inferences, which have been presently drawn, and the fact that the Śākyas were the the kṣatriyas of the solar race, emanating from Ikṣvāku, find sufficient support from some other references as well. In the Mahāvastu[1] itself, the Śākyas have been styled as 'Ādityabandhus', i. e., the 'Kinsmen of the sun'. It is a clear pointer to their origin from the line of Vivasvāna, the progenitor of Manu, Ikṣvāku's father. The Buddha and his father, Śuddhodana, have been referred to as belonging to that line.[2] In the Mahāparinibbāna sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya, the Śākyas are found to claim themselves to have been kṣatriyas.[3] The Lalitavistara[4] and the Sutta-nipāta[5] also refer to the Buddha being born in the family of Iksvāku, a descendant of the sun.

The Śākyan Capital

It is very difficult to point out from the Pāli literature the time, when the Śākyas colonized their new habitat and established their capital, Kapilavastu. The Brahmanical literature, however, furnishes us with a working hypothesis which has a great possibility of corresponding to real facts. It[6] is almost unanimous in its statements that the brothers of Rāma, on his advice and with his approval, conquered new territories for their sons and Rāma in his own life-time established each one of the princes (including his

1 Mahāvastu, Ed Senart, Vol. II. P. 303.
2. Ibid III PP. 246-7
3. Bom Uni. Pub. Pt. II. P. 131
4. Ed. Lefmann, P. 112
5. Sarnath Ed. 1951. P. 210.
6 VR. VII. Chs. 101-2 and 107-8; Raghuvamśa; I. XV. 90-7. Vāyu 88.187-200.

own two sons) in new principalities. Aṅgada, the son of Lakṣamaṇa, was established in the Kārupatha country with Aṅgadīyā as his capital. Lakṣamaṇa's second son Chandraketu, the Malla, got the principality of Mallabhūmi with Chandrakāntā as the seat of his rule [1] The two princes were coronated by Rāma himself and began their rule as full fledged sovereigns [2] It is also said[3] that Aṅgadīyā, the capital of Aṅgada, lay in the west and Chandrakāntā, Chandra-Ketu's seat of rule, in the north. Dr. R. B. Pandey conjectures[4] that the descendants of Aṅgada in later times perhaps left Aṅgadīyā and thinking Kapilavastu to be more ideally situated turned it into their new capital and developed the surrounding territories as the Śākyan state The conjecture may very well fit in with the early Śākyan history. It is possible, thus, that Laksamana's two sons, Angada and Chandraketu, the Malla (valiant), might have been the ancestors of the Śākyas of Kapilavastu and the Mallas of Kuśinārā and and Pāvā respectively.

During about the past one hundred years, archaeologists have tried to identify the Śākyan capital with varying places. The problem of its identification proved to be a difficult one,

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1. तद्वाक्यं भरतेनोक्तं प्रतिजग्राह राघवः ।
तं च कृत्वा वशे देशमङ्गदस्यन्यवेशयत् ॥
अङ्गदीया पुरी रम्या अङ्गदस्य निवेशिता ।
रमणीया सुगुप्ता च रामेणाक्लिष्टकर्मणा ॥
चन्द्रकेतोस्तु मल्लस्य मल्लभूम्या निवेशिता ।
चन्द्रकान्तेति विख्याता दिव्यास्वर्गपुरी यथा ॥
ततो राम परां प्रीतिं लक्ष्मणोभरतस्तथा ।
ययुयुद्धे दुराधर्षा अभिषेकं च चक्रिरे ॥ V. R. VII. 102 7-10

2. अभिषिच्य कुमारौ स प्रस्थापयति राघवः । Ibid. VII. 102 11.

3. अङ्गदं पश्चिमां भूमिं चन्द्रकेतुमुदङ्मुखम् ॥ Ibid.

4. Gorakhpura Janapada (Hindi) P. 66.

chiefly on account of the different testimonies of Fa-Hien, Hiuen Tsiang, the Buddhist literature, and the various new archaeological discoveries. In 1895 an Aśokan pillar was found on the bank of a large tank named Nigali Sāgara, near the village Nigliva in Nepal, 38 miles north—west af Uska Bazar Station in the Basti district. The pillar bears an inscription, which states that king Piyadasi, i. e., Priyadarśin Aśoka, after the fourteenth year of his consecration, enlarged the size of the Stūpa of the Buddha Konākamana to its double size and, after having passed the twentieth year of his consecration, he personally came to worship the Stūpa. The discovery of the pillar and its inscription, however, could not lead to any definite location of Kapilavastu, since neither the Stūpa mentioned in the inscription was to be found near the pillar nor the pillar itself was thought to have been situated in its original place Fortunately, the very next year, i. e., in 1896, another pillar was found near the village Padaria in the Nepalese territories, thirteen miles to the south-east of Nigliva. An inscription on the pillar says[1] that king Aśoka, after twenty years of his consecration, went to the place and worshipped, since the Buddha had been born there. A Hindu temple built just near the pillar presents in stone a scene showing the birth of the Lord from the side of his mother, Māyā. Lumbinī is described both in the Pāli and Sanskrit literature to have been the birth-place of Buddha and so the discovery of the pillar points out that Kapilavastu must have been a few miles away. Presently, the modern Tilaura-kot, which is fourteen miles north-east of the Lumbinī Pillar is accepted by most of the scholars[2] to have been the ancient site of the Śākyan capital, Kapilavastu. There are

1. Cf. Hultzsch, Inscriptions of Aśoka, P. 164; JRAS 1897, PP 429 and 615.

2. Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, PP. 12 and 215; P. C. Mukerji, quoted by B. C. Law in Hist. Geog. P. 90; R. B. Pandey, Gorakhpura Janapada (Hindi) P. 68.

certain others,[1] however, who identify it with the village Piprawa, situated in the north of the Basti district on the frontiers of Nepal and the famous findspot of the Piprawa-vase.

Śākyan Pride

The śākyas were proud to the extent of showing haughtiness on many an occasion. The Ambasṭha episode[2] is one of the many examples, which at once shows that even the Buddha, the highest amongst them, was not free from it. He attacked the fundamentals of the Brāhmaṇa religion and its upholders, the Brāhmanas, with a remarkable emphasis and a laudable approach, which eulogized the virtues and good deeds of men rather than their privileged birth. But, paradoxically enough, the Buddha was not prepared to totally discount the incidence of birth and accepted that it is the Kṣatriya, who is the first and best of all the people when Gotra alone is considered.[3] The sense amongst the Śākyas of superiority to others seems to have been instinctive and they reasoned little about it. Is it to be believed even for a moment that, while showing a lack of readiness in accepting the request of Prasenajita for the hands of a Śākyan daughter[4] on the ground that he was no equal to them in origin,[5] they did not know that the Kośalan monarch belonged to the same line of Ikṣvāku, from whom they had themselves descended ? It so happened that they accepted their powerlessness to refuse Prasenajita's

1. Fleet, JRAS. 1906, P 180, CAGI PP 711-2, Smith, Arch. Sur. Ind Rep Imp Series, XXVI Pt. I.
2. DN. Bom Uni Pub. Pt I. PP. 97ff
3. खत्तियोसेट्ठो जने तस्मि येन गोत्त पटिसारिनो ।
   विज्जाचरण सम्पन्नो सो सेट्ठो देवमानुसेति ॥
   Ibid. Pt. I. P. 111, MN. 2 1.3.
4. Bhaddasāla Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed.) Vol IV. PP. 145ff.
5. The Śākyan devaluation of the Kośalan family is also known from the Lalitavistara, where it is said,—
   "कौशलकुल मातगच्युत्युपपन्नं न मातृपितृशुद्धं" etc Vide-Lefmann's edition, 1902 Ch III. P 20.

request straightaway, but in an excess of pride in their own race they reconciled themselves to the strategem of sending a slave-girl to him. This the Buddha also could not approve of, when he came to know of it[1] and it ultimately proved to be the cause of their destruction at the hands of Vidūdabha. Their undue pride was exhibited again, when they saw the Buddha in their midst but did not make any obeisance to him, until he exhibited his supernatural qualities[2] The introduction to the Kunāla Jātaka furnishes us with an example of the Śākyas abusing their own relatives, the Koliyas, with the taunt that they were the progenies of lepers.[3] It may be asked, what was the cause of this extreme sense of Śākyan pride ? Was it because of their strong belief in the purity of their own race to the exclusion of all others or because of their legitimate pride in their own political constitution ? Had the hilly climate and the surroundings of the Himālaya—where even now the Nepalese are extremely proud of their own things and in which the Śākyas were born and brought up, something to do with it ? No precise explanation can be offered, but it seems quite possible that all these factors were collectively responsible in shaping the Śākyas as an over-proud people.

The political history of the Śakyas

The Śākys of Kapilavastu have been enumerated as one of the sixteen Mahājanapadas in the Aṅguttaranikāya[4] and, evidently, they seem to have been quite famous in the days of the Buddha. Nothing of political importance is known, however, until Śuddhodana appears on the scene. He was the president of the Śākyan Gaṇa and later gave way to

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1. Jātaka (Cowell's Eng Trans.) Vol IV P. 93
2. Introduction to Jātaka No 547, Vol. VI. (Cowell's Trans. P 246)
3. Vol V. (Fausboll's Ed.) PP. 412ff
4. PTS. Ed. Vol I. P, 213 ; Vol. IV. PP. 252, 256, and 260.

Bhaddiya.[1] Both of them have been pictured in the Buddhist canon,[2] occasionally as 'rājās' but sometimes as individuals also—a fact which denotes the elective character of the Śākyan presidency. The Śākyas earned undying fame for the fact that they formed that family, which gave birth to the illustrious Buddha. Except in relation to the Buddha, his life, and teachings, the old Pāli canon makes very little mention of the Śākyas as a state. It cannot be definitely told as to how long did their Gana-State last, and it is almost impossible to give a connected description of the vicissitudes of their history. What we know from tho later Jātaka accounts is only their merciless destruction at the hands of the infuriated Kośalan monarch, Vidūdabha.

The story of the Śākyan annihilation can be best reproduced from the preamble of the Bhaddasāla Jātaka.[3] According to it, in order to gain the friendship of the Buddhist brethern Prasenjita thought to make a Śākyan girl his queen consort and he sent a message to Kapilavastu to this effect The message said : "Please give one of your daughters in marriage, for I wish to become connected with your family". On the receipt of this message the Śākyas gathered together and deliberated : 'We live in a place subject to the authority of the king of Kośala; if we refuse a daughter, he will be very angry and if we give her, the custom of our clan is broken, what are we to do ?' Then Mahānāma said to them, do not trouble about it, I have a daughter named Vāsabhakhattiyā. Her mother is a slave woman, Nāgamuṇḍā by name, she is some

1. See Ante P 244.
2 DN (Bom Uni Pub.) Pt II. P. 7 ; Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed) Vol I. P 40 , Vol IV P 50 , Vinayapiṭaka, Cullavagga, VII. 1.3ff , Mahāvagga, 1 3.11 , SN (Sarnath Hindi Ed) Vol I P 35 ; and Suttanipāta (Sarnath Ed.) P 150
3. Cowell's Eng. Ed Vol IV PP. 91-95 ; The story is differently given in the Dulva (Rockhill, Life of Buddha,PP. 71ff.). But the Jātaka story is more commonly accepted by the Buddhists and so is followed here.

sixteen years of age, of great beauty and auspicious prospects, and by her father's side noble. We will send her as girl nobly born'.[1] The Śākyas agreed and sent for 'the messengers and said they were willing to give a daughter of the clan and they might take her with them at once."[2] The messengers knowing the Śākyan pride for the nobility of their clan said, 'Well, we will take her but we will take one, who eats along with you'.[3] Mahānāma again found a way out and in presence of the messengers pretended with some device his taking meals with the girl, which they could not divine and they carried away Vāsabhakhattiyā to the king of Kośala, who made her his chief queen.

The story goes on[4] to say that in short time, the queen conceived and brought forth a son, who was named Vidūḍabha.[5] "When at the age of seven years, having observed how the other princes received presents of toys, elephants, and horses from the families of their mothers' fathers, the lad said to his mother, 'Mother ! the rest of them get presents from their mothers' family, but no one sends me anything. Are you an orphan ?' She replied, 'My boy ! your grandsires are Śākya kings but they live a long way off and that is why they send you nothing.' At the age of sixteen, when the boy insisted too much, the mother got ready to take him to her father's home. She sent on a letter beforehand to this effect, 'I am living here happily, let not my masters tell him anything of the secret.' When he arrived, he got no greetings in response to his own salutations to them by walking from

1. Jātaka Cowell's Eng Ed. Vol. IV. PP 91ff
2. Ibid. P. 92.
3. Ibid. P. 92.
4 Ibid. P 92.
5. The Dulva wrongly says (Rockhill, Life of Buddha, P. 77) that Viruddhaka (Vidūḍabha) was the son of Mallikā.

one to another and bowing to them till his back ached and he asked, 'why is it that none of you greet me ?' The Śākyas replied, My dear, the youngest princes are all in the country'. Then they entertained him grandly. After a few days stay he set out for home with all his retinue. Just then a slave woman washed the seat which he had used in the rest-house with milk-water, saying, 'Here is the seat, where sat the son of Vāsabhakhattiyā, the slave girl.' A man, who had left his spear behind was just fetching it when he overheard the abuse of prince Viḍūdabha and ultimately it was known to him. 'Yes', thought he, 'they pour Milk-water over the seat, I sat in, to wash it. When I am king, I will wash the place with their hearts' blood.'[1]

When Vidūdabha became the king of Kośala, he remembered his old grudge and pledge against the Śākyas, determined to destory them one and all, and set out to that end with a large army. The Buddha, knowing this, interceded three[2] times to save the śākyas and succeeded. But when for the fourth time the king again set out, the master, perceiving the effects of the former deeds of his kinsmen, did not intervene and Vidūḍabha killed all the Śākyas "beginning with babes at the breast and with their hearts' blood washed the bench and returned."[3] Hiuen Tsiang refers[4] to the incident and says that, having come to know the march of Vidūdabha's army

1. Jātaka cowell's Eng Ed Vol III P 93, Hiven Tsiang says in this reference that in Kapilavastu Viḍūdabha lodged with his retinue in a chapel, which the Śākyas had newly built for the Buddha When they heard of it, they abused him as 'the low son of a slave girl. The prince thereupon determined to take revenge for that insult. Vide—T. Watters, On Yuan Chwang's Travels, Vol II PP. 8-9.

2 Jātaka, Cowell's Eng Ed. IV. P 144, The Dulva (Rockhill, Life of the Buddha P 116) says that he interceded only once

3 Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed) Vol IV PP 144ff.

4. T. Watters : on Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, Vol I. PP. 395ff.

against the Śākyas, the Buddha took his seat under a dead tree in the Śākyan territory, which lay by the roadside. When the king came up, he recognised the lord, dismounted from his horse and, after paying due respects, asked the Buddha as to why he did not go to a tree full of leaves and branches which could afford a shade. Such a tree happened to be inside the Kośalan boundary and the Buddha replied, "My clan are my branches and leaves", meaning thereby that when they were in danger, what other shelter could he have ? The king thought, "The lord is taking the side of his relatives—let me return". The king returned but the Buddha ceased to intercede any more and the former carried out his intention[1] of taking revenge on the Śākyas. The Chinese pilgrim also refers to the site of a tope, where 500 śākya maidens were dismembered. Others numbering 500, who refused to go and join the harem of the Kośalan King and abused him as being 'the son of a slave',[2] suffered mutilation and were thrown into a ditch. The number of śākyas massacred is given by Hiuen Tsiang[3] as 99,900,000, which is undoubtedly very greatly exaggerated. It cannot be imagined that the small town of Kapilavastu could have possessed a population numbering more than a few thousands. The statements[4] in the Avadāna Kalpalatā and the Dulva seem to be nearer truth, where it is said that only seventy or seventy seven thousand śākyas were killed. The two accounts agree, however, in stating that the girls were killed on account of their rudeness. Out of his revengeful feelings against the Śākyas, Vidūdabha ordered the girls to

1 The Dulva informs (Rockhill, Life of Buddha, P. 117) that in the first round of the battle the Śākyas repulsed the Kośalan army but in the second round they did not offer a fight and Viḍūḍabha won.

2 T. Watter, on Yuan Chwang's Travels, I. PP. 395ff. , Refer also to Rockhill, Life of the Buddha, P. 121.

3. Op Cit. Vol II. PP 8-9.

4. Cf DPPN. Vol. II. PP 876-7 ; Rockhill, Life of the Buddha, P. 120.

accept positions into his harem but failed miserably in his object. The śākyas seem to have been divided amongst themselves as to whether to fight or not[1] to fight and at any rate they offered almost little resistance. The massacre was complete, it is evident, save of those, who unconditionally surrendered with blades of grass or reeds in their mouths.[2] Mahānāma, who had played the leading role in duping Prasenajita[3] by sending a slave-girl to him and against whom the invading Vidūḍabha had nurtured the highest feeling of anger and revenge, was spared and imprisoned. Later on the Kośalan king invited him to share his meals with him in order to feed fat his ancient grudge. One may recollect here how Mahānāma had contrived to avoid sharing his meals with the mother of Vidūdabha, Vāsabhakhattiyā, when the Kośalan messengers demanded the same before taking her to the Kośalan Court. But that proud Śākya thought of himself ending his life rather than eating the humble pie of sharing a meal with the son of a slave. So, pretending to take his bath before eating, he plunged himself into a lake and committed suicide by drowning himself in it.[4] The supernatural element in the story that the Nāgas of the lake saved him can at once be rejected as also the wishful narrative of the monks that within seven days, Vidūdabha, with most of his army, was washed away into the sea by the severe floods of the river Achirāvatī.[5]

The whole account is really an epitome of contemporary mid-Indian politics. The Śākyan annihilation at the hands of

1. Rockhill, Life of the Buddha, PP. 117-8.
2. DPPN. Vol. II PP. 876-7.
3 Jātaka, Cowell's Eng Ed Vol. IV. PP. 92-93
4. Cf DPPN. Vol. II PP. 876-7, The Dulva (Rockhill, Life of Buddha, PP. 121-2) says that he was drowned by accident.
5. DPPN. Vol II PP. 876-7, The Dulva (Rockhill, Life of The Buddha, P. 112) says that the house of Śrāvastī got itself burnt as a result of its misdeeds.

Viḍūḍabha was actuated not only by a sense of his anger against them but also with an imperialist motive of extending his own kingdom at the expense of their state. Had it been anger and a sense of revenge alone, it is highly probable that Viḍūḍabha might have given up his intension in face of the Buddha's intercessions, which came thrice. Anger it was, no doubt, but that had changed into a purpose behind which was a cool-calculated design showing signs of an imperialist tendency—a marked phenomenon of the times. Prasenajita had been equally offended by the Śākyas in matters of his marriage with Vāsabhakhattiyā, it can be argued, but he did not think of what his son thought and translated into action. The reason seems to have been his friendly attitude towards the Buddha and his family. Viḍūḍabha would have none of these considerations because of his ulterior motives.

But it is a pity that at a time when the only chance of the survival of the non-monarchical Gaṇas lay in their unity, the Kośalan monarchy was supported in its declared aims against the Śākyas by Dīgha Kārāyaṇa,[1] a representative of the Mallas of Kusinārā, another Gaṇa. It was the latter, actuated with a revengeful attitude against Prasenajita because of his maltreatment of Bandhula, who in league with Viḍūḍabha virtually forced Prasenajita to flee away from his kingdom and to die outside the gates of Rājagriha[2] in an attempt to secure succour from his nephew and son-in-law, Ajātaśatru. The Buddha must have been displeased at Viḍūḍabha's forcibly occupying the throne of Śrāvastī and almost at once setting out against the Śākyas. A comparison may be aptly drawn here between Viḍūḍabha, who conspired against his father, Prasenajita, for the throne of

1. Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed.) Vol. IV. PP. 151ff ; Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā (PTS) I. P. 356.

2 Ibid.

Kośala and Ajātaśatru, whoi ntrigued against his father, Bimbisāra, and forcibly occupied the Magadhan throne.[1] Both of them were ambitious monarchs, desirous of extending their respective kingdoms at the expense of the neighbouring Ganas. Vidūḍabha exterminated the Śākyas through direct military intervention, while Ajātaśatru[2] occupied the Vajjian territories through strategem.

The Koliyas of Rāmagrāma

The Dīgha Nikāya[3] informs that the Koliyas of Rāmagrāma claimed a share of the Buddha's remains from the Mallas of Kusinārā, on the ground that like that great teacher they were also Ksatriyas.

Their origin

Their Ksatriyahood becomes certain, when the stories about their origin are examined. Sumangalavilāsinī,[4] the Dīgha Nikāya commentary, tells · as the Śākyas increased with sons and daughters, ' their eldest sister became later afflicted with leprosy, and her limbs were like the kovilāra flowers. The princes thinking that this disease would come upon anyone, who should sit, stand, or eat with her, took her one day in a chariot as though going to sport in the park, and entering the forest dug a lotus-pool with a house in the earth. There they placed her, and providing her with different kinds of food, covered it with mud and came away. At that time the king of Benares, named Rāma, had leprosy and, being loathed by his ladies and dancing girls, in his agitation gave the kingdom to his eldest son, entered the forest, and there living on woodland leaves and fruits soon became healthy and of a golden colour. As he wandered here and there, he saw a

1. Introduction to Samkicca Jātaka, No. 530 of Fausboll's Ed.
2. Aṭṭhakathā quoted by Rahul Sankrityayan in 'Buddhacharyā' (Hindi) PP. 520ff.
3. Bom. Uni Pun. Pt II. P 131.
4. Pt. I. PP. 260-2.

great hollow tree and clearing a place within it to the size of sixteen cubits he fitted a door and a window, fastened a ladder to it and lived there. ....One day as he was seated after lighting a fire at dawn, a tiger came, attracted by the scent of the king's daughter and stirring the mud about the place made a hole in the covering. On seeing the tiger through the hole she was terrified and uttered a cry. He heard the sound, noticed that it was woman's voice and went early to the place. "Who is there?" he said. "A woman, Sir." "Of what caste are you?" "I am the daughter of king Okkāka, Sir". "Come out." "I cannot, Sir" "Why?" "I have a skin disease."

Knowing the whole matter and finding she would not come out owing to her Kṣatriya pride, he made it known to her that he was also a Ksatriya, gave her a ladder. and drew her out. He took her to his dwelling, showed her the medicinal food that he had himself eaten. and in no long time made her healthy and of a golden colour and consorted with her. She gave birth to twin sons for sixteen times. Thus there were thirty-two brothers. They gradually grew up and their father taught them all the arts.

"One day a certain inhabitant of the city of king Rāma, who was seeking for jewels on the mountain, saw the king and recognised him "I know your majesty", he said. The king asked him all the news and himself told his own story. 'Now I have a story to tell', thought the man and went to the city and informed the reigning king. The king decided to bring back his father, went there with a fourfold army, and saluting him, asked him to accept the kingdom. 'Enough my son, he replied, 'remove this tree for me here and build a city.' He did so. Because the Kola trees had been removed for the city, it was named Kolanagara, and since it lay on the tiger's path (Vyāgghapajja) it received its second attribute, Vyāgghapajjā. When the princes had grown up, their mother said to them, "Children, the Śākyas, who dwell in Kapilavatthu,

are your maternal uncles. Your uncles' daughters have the same style of hair and dress as you. When they come to the bathing-place, go there and let each take the one that pleases him. They went there, and when the girls had bathed and were drying their hair, they each took one and making known their names came away. The Śākya rājās on hearing of it thought, 'Let it be, to be sure they are our kins-folk,' and kept silence.'

The accounts of Koliyan origin are also found in the Mahāvastu[1] and the Kuṇāla Jātaka.[2] The Mahāvastu version is a bit different, according to which, it was not king Rāma of Banaras, who cured the Śākyan princess of her leprosy by means of some medicinal herbs. She was cured by the heat, which she had to forcibly bear on account of living in the stuffy underground chamber of her new hilly-house. Further, the man, who rescued her from the tiger and took her out of the sub-terranean chamber, is named as Kola, a sage, and not Rāma. Further, as against the Sumangalavilāsinī version where the Kola princes were advised by their mother to lay their hands on the Śākyan girls without any previous permission of the Śākyas, the Mahāvastu says that they were trained in Śākyan manners by their mother and asked to go to Kapilavastu. There the Śākyas, while conducting their business in their assembly-hall, got pleased with them and coming to know of their origin granted them positions, favours, and gave them their daughters in marriage. The introduction to the Kunāla Jātaka alos refers to Rāmagrāma, the derivation of the name koliya from kola trees, and the affliction of koliyan parents with leprosy.

These versions of Koliyan origin differ only in minor details and their salient points are mostly identical. The

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1. Vol. I. PP. 352-3.
2. Jātaka, Fausboll's Ed., Vol. V. P. 413.

source of all these stories was probably the same and the slight differences in their versions seem to have occured chiefly because they were put into black and white long after the actual happenings. It is possible that Rāma, the king of Banaras, might have been named Kola, because of living either in a hollow Kola (jujube) tree or in the groves of Kola trees.

The Divyāvadāna, however, describes them to have been the descendants of Ikṣvāku, which seems to point to the Śākyan blood that flowed in the koliyan veins from the mother's side. The Mahāparinibbāna sutta, on the other hand, says that they belonged to the serpent race. This is no contradiction of what we know from other stories and only refers to their origin from the father's side. Dr R. B. Pandey has rightly hit the mark[1] in saying that king Rāma, the forefather of the koliyas, was a Kṣatriya of the Nāga Family, which had begun ruling in Banaras after the extinction of the Aila (Chandravamśa) dynasty there. Hiuen Tsiang[2] seems to refer to the element of Nāga blood in the Koliyas, when he states that the commemorative Stūpa, which was built to the south-west of Rāmagrāma over the bodily remains of the Buddha, was protected and worshipped by the Nāgas.[3] These Nāgas were not serpents but human beings of flesh and blood, the ksatriyas of Nāga Vamśa.

The above accounts may lead us to believe that there were marriages between the Śākyas of Kapilavastu and the royal family of Banaras. The Koliyas were the descendants of the Śākyas from the mothers' side and of Rāma, a Kṣatriya ruler of Banaras, from the father's side. The Koliyan capital was, firstly, named as Kolanagara because it was situated on the site of Kola trees and, secondly, Vyāgghapajjā, i. e., Vyāghrapadyā because it lay on the tigers' track. It was later

1. Gorakhpur Janapada (Hindi) P 68.
2 T Watters · on Yuan Chwang's Travels, Vol II. P. 20.
3 Cf. Divyāvadāna, Mithila Inst. Pub P. 240.

named as Rāmagāma, i. e., Rāmagrāma, after its founder, Rāma, the exiled king of Banaras. It was situated in the hilly forests of the Himālayan slopes. The Koliyas lived in close proximity of the Śākyan states and their own territories originally formed part of the latter.

The Koliyan Capital

The capital of the Koliyas was known in the days of the Buddha as Rāmagāma,[1] i. e., Rāmagrāma and was named after its founder, Rāma, their ancestor. The identification of Rāmagrāma has been the subject of controversies amongst the archaeologists and historians. Carlleyle[2] believed, and there are others[3] to accept his lead, that its ancient site is that of modern Rampur Deoriya in the Basti district of Uttar Pradesh, which is situated near about two miles southeast of the modern little town, Mundera.[4] Cunningham[5] identified it with Deokalı. However, none of these identifications has yet been generally accepted as final. Some clue to the exact location of that city is found from the descriptions of Hiuen Tsiang, who says[6] that the kingdom of Lan-mo, i. e., Rāmagrāma was 300 li or so from Kapilavastu and more than 200 li from Lumbinī. He further says[7] that to the Sout-east of the old capital there was a brickstūpa, in which were preserved the bodily remains of the Buddha by a previous king (i. e., some president of the Koliya Gaṇa) of that country. Carlleyle believed[8] that the Chinese

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1. DN (Bom Uni. Pub.) Pt II P. 131.
2. Arch Sur Ind Rep Vol XVIII PP 3ff.
3. e. g, B. C. Law. Hist. Geog. P. 119.
4. Ibid.
5. AGI P. 423
6. S. Beal: 'Buddhist Records', Vol. II PP. 25-6; T. Watters, (On Yuan Chwang's travels) Vol II P. 20.
7. T. Watters (On Yuan Chwang's Travels), Vol. II. P. 20.
8. Op. Cit. P. 4.

pilgrim committed a mistake in saying that the Stūpa, above referred to, lay to the south-east of the city and thought it to have really existed in the north-east of Rāmagrāma. But there is hardly any cogent ground to doubt the correctness of Hiuen Tsiang's descriptions and their careful perusal shows the untenability of the identification of Rāmagrāma with modern Rampur Deoriya. Dr. R. B. Pandey believes that Rāmagrāma existed at the site of the modern Gorakhpur city and says[1] that the Buddha's stūpa existed on the bank of the modern Ramgardh lake. The name of the lake ending in Gardh suggests the existence of some ancient fortification there. The situation tallies with Hiuen Tsiang's statement that the Stūpa preserving the remains of the Buddha lay to the south-east of the Koliyan capital. It is true, there are found no remains of any Stūpa there, but it is very probable that either a change of course by the river Rapti or a sudden overflow of the waters of the lake washed away the Stūpa. This is no mere surmise, since the Ceylonese tradition says[2] that the Buddha's Stūpa built at Rāmagrāma was washed away by the river. The river referred to can be no other than the modern Rapti.

Koliyan boundaries

The Koliyan state had the Himālaya as its northern frontier, the Achirāvatī (Rapti) as its southern limit and most probably the Moriyas of Pipphalivana as its south-eastern neighbours. There are no positive grounds to suppose, as some scholars have done,[3] that the Koliya Janapada stretched on the right side of the Rapti as well. On the west its territories were co-terminous with those of the Śākyas of Kapilavastu, the Rohiṇī river[4] forming the boundary[5] between the two states.

1. Gorakhpur Janapada (Hindi) P. 70
2. Mahāvamsa, XXX 17ff
3. Dr. R B Pandey : Gorakhpur Janapada (Hindi), P. 70.
4. Cunningham identified Rohinī with Rowai or Rohwaini, meeting the Rapti at Gorakhpur Arch. Sur. Ind. Rep. Vol. XII. PP. 190ff.
5. Theragāthā Vs 529 and Kuṇāla-Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed.) Vol. V P. 413

On one occasion there was a quarrel between the two sides for the possession of the river.[1] The introduction to the Kuṇāla Jātaka[2] says that both the Koliyas and the Śākyas used the waters of that river, checked by a single dam, for irrigational purposes. Once in the month of Jeṭṭhāmūla (May and June) the cane crops of both sides began to droop and dry for want of water. Even the entire reserve of the river water was not sufficient to satisfy the needs of the two sides. The labourers of both sides demanded all the water, whatever it was, for their own respective crops on the plea that at least their crops would be saved by a single watering. This none of the two parties was prepared to accept and matters came to such a pass that they quarrelled and began to abuse each other, using strong words referring to the origin of the Śākyas through sister-marriages and those of the Koliyas from lepers. In the meantime the Buddha was informed, who stayed quite nearby. Appearing on the scene, he was successful in restoring peace and amity between the two sides. The Koliyas like the Śākyas respected the master and in gratitude each side dedicated 250 of its youngmen (Kumāras) to the membership of the Buddhist fraternity. Detailed accounts of this quarrel between the Śākyas and the Koliyas are also found in the Dhammapada commentary[3] and the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī.[4] A variant[5] of the story indicates that the Śākya-Koliya feud started on account of a quarrel between two groups of female slaves (labourers) from the two sides and ultimately became a question between the two clans.

The Koliyas of Rāmagrāma were an important people in the days of the Buddha. They had their various matrimonial

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1. Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed.) Vol. I. P. 327 and IV. P. 207.
2. Fausboll's Ed. Vol. V. P. 413.
3. Vol. III, PP. 254ff.
4. Vol II. PP. 672ff.
5. Cf. Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed.) Vol. V. PP. 412ff.

relations with the Śākyas of Kapilavastu. But how long they had been able to continue their independent status or even an insignificant entity, which accepted the Kośalan overlordship, is quite difficult to tell for lack of evidence. Of their decline and fall there is no definite knowledge. It seems that like the Mallas and Vajjians,[1] the Koliyans survived the Mauryan empire. Hiuen Tsiang refers[2] to the fact that the Nāgas resisted the attempts of the great Mauryan emperor Aśoka, when he tried to take away the bodily remains of the Buddha, that were enshrined in a Stūpa at Rāmagrāma. The emperor wanted them to be redistributed to be enshrined into the thousands of new Stūpas, which he had built. These Nāgas were not serpents but Kṣatriyas of the Nāgakula, the descendants of Rāma, governing at Rāmagrāma. There are no other grounds, however, to suppose that even if they existed as a self—governing or autonomous entity, the Koliyas had any real political significance or any considerable range of authority. It is certain that they did not last long.

The Decline and fall

The Moriyas of Pipphalivana

The Moriyas of Pipphalivana were another non-monarchical people in the days of the Buddha. When the lord attained his Nirvāṇa in Kusinārā, they are also said[3] to have sent their messengers to fetch the

Their Origin

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1. The Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya suggests their autonomous existence in the days of the Mauryas. Bk. XII 5-6.
2. T. Watters, On Yuan Chwang's Travels, Vol II. P. 20. Refer also to Divyāvadāna, Mithila Inst Pub. P. 240
3. अस्सोसुं खो पिप्फलिवनिया मोरिया :—'भगवा किर कुसिनारायं परिनिब्बुतो'ति। अथखो पिप्फलिवनिया मोरिया कोसिनारकानं दूतं पाहेसुं। भगवाऽपि खत्तियो मयम्पि खत्तिया। मयम्पि अहराम भगवतोसरीरानं भागं'ति॥

DN. (Bom. Uni. Pub.), Pt. II. P. 132.

bodily remains of the Buddha, basing their claim on the fact that like that great teacher, they were also Kṣatriyas. They had to satisfy themselves, however, with only the ashes because they were late in sending their messenger to Kusinārā.[1] But for this casual reference to the Moriyas, nothing else is known about them from the Tripiṭaka. It is only in the later Buddhist literature and the commentaries that they are again introduced. The mahāvamsa[2] connects the future line of the imperial Mauryas with the Moriyas and says that Chānakya, after uprooting the Nandas, enthroned in Magadha Chandragupta, who was born in the Kṣatriya family of the Moriyas. The Mahāvamsa commentary[3] states that the Moriyas of Pipphalivana were originally the Śākyan princes of Kapilavastu but when they were in danger of falling a prey to the massacre of the angry Kośalan monarch, Vidūdabha, they decided to escape by fleeing Kapilavastu and proceeding to the Himālaya regions, founded the city of Pipphalivana around a lake in an area, which abounded in Peepal trees. The name of the clan, Moriya, is said to have been derived from the fact that the surrounding areas of that new city of Pipphalivana were resonant with the melodious cries of peacocks, which bred and lived in the peepal forest roundabout. Further, the city had its buildings, constructed of stones resembling peacock's necks. Another, though not very trustworthy, interpretation of the designation, Moriya, is that it was derived from the word 'Modiya', because the Moriyas in their new habitat occupied a pleasing or delightful land.

The Mahābodhivaṁsa informs[4] that "Prince (Kumāra)

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1 Ibid.

2. मोरियानं खत्तियान वंसे जात सिरीधरं ।
चन्दगुत्तो'ति पञ्ञतं चणक्को ब्रह्मणो ततो ।
Mahāvamsa, Ed. Gieger, P. 20

3 Mahāvamsa Ṭikā, Sinhalese Ed. PP. 119ff.

4. Ed. Strong. P. 98.

Chandragupta, born of a dynasty of kings (NarindaKulasaṁbhava) hailing from the city known as Moriyanagara, which was built by the Śākyaputtas, being supported by the Brāhmaṇa (Dvija) Chānakya, became king at Pāṭaliputra". The Jain author, Hemachandra, in his Pariśiṣṭaparvaṇ[1] states that Chandragupta was the son of a daughter of the head of a village community, which was the rearer of royal peacocks. The tradition indicating the association of the Moriyas and the later Mauryas with peacocks finds support and confirmation from some of the Mauryan monuments. Various sculptures on the Great Stūpa at Sāñchī and some other edifices, which are associated with the life and history of Aśoka, contain peacock figures, accepted by scholars[2] to have been the dynastic symbols of the Mauryas.

In the Divyāvadāna, Bindusāra[3] calls himself a ceremoniously coronated Ksatriya king.

The Buddhist and the Jain sources, it is evident, clearly point to the Kṣatriya origin of the Mauryas and their connection with the Moriyas of Pipphalivana, the subject of our present enquiry. But this at once puts one face to face with the testimony of the Purānas, their commentaries and the drama, Mudrārākṣasa, where the Mauryas are painted as belonging to the Śudra fold. The Purāṇas[4] refer to the possession of the earth by the Mauryas, after it was rescued from the Nandas by the Brāhmana Kauṭilya. They also say that

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1. मयूरपोषकग्रामे । VIII. 230.
2. Refer to R. K. Mookerji, Chandragupta Maurya and His Times, 2nd Ed. P. 15.
3. त्वं नापिति अहं राजा क्षत्रियो मूर्द्धाभिषिक्तः ।
   कथं मया सार्धं समागमो भविष्यति ॥ Cowell & Neill Ed. P. 370.
4. ततश्च नव चैतान्नन्दान् कौटिल्यो ब्राह्मणः समुद्धरिष्यति ।
   तेषामभावे मौर्याः पृथिवीं भोक्ष्यन्ति ।
   कौटिल्य एव चन्द्रगुप्तमुत्पन्नं राज्येऽभिषेक्ष्यति ॥
   Viṣṇu, Pt. IV. 24 26-28.

Chandragupta was enthroned in Magadha by Kauṭilya. So far as the above Purāṇic statement goes, there is nothing to suggest any base origin of the Mauryas. But Śrīdharaswāmī, the commentator on the Viṣṇu Purāna, adds somthing new of his own in saying that Chandragupta was born of Murā,[1] the wife of the Nanda King. The Purāṇas themselves never refer to Murā, the so-called wife of the Nanda King and the only concern of the commentator seems to have been the derivation of the title 'Maurya' from 'Murā'—a complete massacre of Sanskrit grammar. The Mudrārākṣasa styles Chandrgupta as 'Vriṣala',[2] which in itself carries no finality about the fact of that emperor being a Śūdra. 'Vṛiṣala' in Sanskrit lexicon came to signify a personal and pet name of Chandragupta[3] and so it was a term of honour for him.[4] Manu used term 'Vriṣala' in the sense of a Ksatriya, who deviated from strict orthodoxy.[5] Moreover it cannot be accepted that even a powerful minister, like Chāṇakya, could have the audacity to address his royal master as a Śūdra (Vrisala) without any fear of instant retaliation. The comment of Dhundhirājaśāstrī, who introduces[6] Murā—a barber girl, i. e., a Śūdrā, as the mother of Chandragupta Maurya, is quite fantastic and imaginary. He does not seem to base his statements on any historical authority. He also wrongly derives the word 'Maurya' from 'Murā'.

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1. नन्दस्यैव भार्यायां मुरासंज्ञाया जातम् । Viṣnu with Śrīdharaswāmi's commentary Venkateshwar Press Bombay, IV. 24 28
2. Ed. K. H. Dhruva (Ori. Bk Agency, Poona, 1930) 3rd Act.
3 Medini. 1.4.
4. Cf. Chandragupta Maurya And His Times, R.K Mookerjee P.11.
5 शनकैस्तुक्रियालोपादिमाः चत्रियजातयः ।
वृषलत्वं गता लोके ब्राह्मणातिक्रमेण च ॥ Manusmriti. X. 43.
6 Cf. R K. Mookerjee, Chandragupta Maurya And His Times, PP 11-2. The name derivative from 'Murā', it may be noted, would be 'Moreya' and not 'Maurya'.

The responsibility of creating confusion about the Mauryan origin cannot be fathered on the Purāṇas and the Mudrārākṣasa. It is only their commentaries, as late in their composition as the eighteenth century, which are responsible for the imaginary details portraying them as Śudras and their testimonies can hardly be accepted as sober history. It may be concluded that the Buddhist and Jain testimonies describe the truth in saying that the Mauryas were of Kṣatriya stock and belonged to the line of the Moriyas

The Mahāvamsa commentary[1] connects the Moriyas with the Śākyas of Kapilavastu. This tradition may, however, be suspected on the ground that the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta[2] introduces the Moriyas as independent and equals of the prominent Kṣatriya clans of the Buddhist days. The massacre of the Śākyas at the hands of Vidūdabha did happen shortly before the demise of the Buddha, according to the Buddhist tradition. It is unlikely that after having fled from Kapilavastu the Moriyas were able to carve out an independent territor with a regular capital for themselves so soon as to have established their separate entity worth cognizance from other independent peoples at the time of the division of the sacred remains of the Buddha. Moreover, had they really been the kith and kin of the Śākyas, they would surely have put forward their claim for the Buddha's relics on the basis of oneness of blood with the Lord, as was done, by the Śākyas[3] themselves. Dr. B. C. Law seems to be right in suggesting[4] that "there may be some truth in the suggestion that the

1. Sinhalese Ed. PP. 119ff.
2. DN. (Bom. Uni. Pub.) Pt II. P 132.
3. भगवा अम्हाकं ञातिसेट्ठो ।
मयम्पि अरहाम भगवतो सरीरानं भागं'ति ।
भगवतो सरीरानं थूपंच महंच करिस्सामा'ति । Ibid. P. 131.
4. Tribes In Ancient India, P. 288.

Moriyas were in some way connected with the Śākyas of Kapilavastu and with the advance of ethnological researches it may be found that the matrimonial alliance of the Śākyas with the neighbouring hill-people brought some new tribes into existence." The Moriyas of Pipphalivana might have been one such tribe.

Their Capital

The capital of the Moriyas was Pipphalivana.[1] The name suggests its existence in a forest of Peepal trees and the Mahāvaṁsa commentary[2] points out to this fact. The peepal and the banyan are the most common trees of India. A. C. L. Carlleyle,[3] while conducting his archaeological tours in the Gorakhpur and Deoria districts identified Pipphalivana with the Modern Rajdhani or Upadhaulia, some fourteen miles southeast of the Gorakhpur city. The locality still abounds in Peepal trees and is situated on the bank of river Gurra. The actual site contains considerable archaeological remains and extends into an area of about four miles in length and two miles in breadth. In the north-east of Rajdhani are still found the remains of an ancient rectangular fort, known as Sahankot. The whole look, the finds, the name Rajdhani, and the surroundings of the place suggest its ancient importance and its proposed identification with Pipphalivana seems to be correct. Dr. B C. Law[4] finds an echo of its name in that of Piprawa, the findspot of the famous Piprawa Vase, But apart from the slight phonetic similarity between the two names, nothing is common between Pipphalivana and Piprawa of the Basti District and by no stretch of imagination can the two places be identified as one.

The territories of the Moriyas extended between the

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1. DN (Bom. Uni. Pub.) Pt. II P. 132.
2. Sinhalese Ed., PP. 119ff.
3. Arch. Sur. Ind. Rep., Vol. XVIII, PP. 31ff. ; XXII. P. 7.
4. Hist. Geog. P. 117.

Koliyan territories on the west and north-west and those of the Mallas of Kusinārā and Pāvā on the east and north-east. The Mahāvamsa commentary[1] puts the site of Pipphalivana in the Himālayan slopes, but it is unlikely that its territories touched the Himālaya in the north. Its area stretched perhaps along the banks of the river Rapti and still presents an ancient look with many places of archaeological importance on the banks of that river and its tributaries, the most important of those being the modern Rudrapur town and its surroundings in the Deoria district of Uttar Pradesh.

The extent of Moriyan territories

The Buddhist non-monarchical Ganas can very rightly be held to have been the pride of Indian history. The Śākyas shall remain ever immortal, if not for anything else, for having given the world one of its greatest religious and social teachers, the Buddha. The Moriyas may claim an everlasting place in history for having produced as great a monarch and disciple of the Buddha as Aśoka the Great. Chandragupta too belonged to the Moriya people and, according to the Buddhist and Jain testimonies, his father was the chief of that clan. In contemporary Greece the ebb of republicanism saw the small states being engulfed in the tide of Alexandrian imperialism. In India the non-monarchical Gaṇa of the Moriyas-undoubtedly republican in its political character, became the nucleus of a great imperialist movement under the leadership of Chandragupta Maurya. India and Greece represented at the time the two greatest civilizing forces of the world and Chandragupta and Alexander resembled each other in many respects. They seem to have been almost equals in age, while starting their political careers. Alexander was taught by Aristotle, the apostle of republicanism and democracy, and Chandragupta was the son of the chief of a non-monarchical and democratic Gaṇa and was brought up in a free atmosphere. But totaly unin-

The Historical importance of the Moriya Gaṇa

1. Sinhalese Ed., PP. 119ff.

fluenced by each other, both of them revoked their past almost at the same time and became the leaders of unification movements in India and Greece. The comparison, however, ends here. Alexander led an army of conquests and occupation in countries other than his own, while Chandragupta Maurya led a struggle of freedom—freedom from internal disunity and foreign occupation of his own country. Chandragupta Maurya lived to secure for his conquest, some sort of permanence through an organized and well-developed system of administration, which Alexander could not do perhaps because of his premature death.

The Mallas of Kusinārā and Pāvā

The Mahāparinibbāna Sutta introduces the Mallas[1] as Kṣatriyas of the Vasiṣtha Gotra, who first refused to part with the bodily remains of the Buddha and share them with other Kṣatriya claimants on the ground that the lord had breathed his last in their territory. The Divyāvadāna traces their descent from Ikṣvāku[2] and states that they were one of the nine Ksatriya families, the others being those of the Janakas, Videhas, Koliyas, Mauryas, Lichchavis, Gñyātrikas Vajjis, and Śākyas. Manu describes[3] them as born of a Kṣatriya mother and a Kṣatriya father, who was a Vrātya. Dr. R. B. Pandey rightly traces[4] their title 'Malla' from Lakṣamaṇa's son, Chandraketu, who is given the appellation, Malla, in the Rāmāyaṇa.[5] He is of opinion that they belonged to the family of Rāma. Rāma, according to Vālmīki,[6] divi-

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1. 'गच्छा' त्वुसो आनन्द, कुसिनारं पविसित्वा कोसिनारकानं मल्लानं आरोचेहि:—परिनिब्बुतो वासेट्ठा भगवा, यस्स दानि काल मंथा'ति। DN. (Bom Uni. Pub.) Pt. II. P. 126.
2. Refer to R. B. Pandey, Gorakhpur Janapada, P. 75.
3. झल्लो मल्लश्च राजन्याद्व्रात्याल्लिच्छिविरेवच। X 22.
4. Gorakhpur Janapada (Hindi) PP. 75-6.
5. VR. VII. 102.9.
6. Ibid. Chs. 101-102.

ded his empire in his very lifetime into his own as well as his brothers' sons. The two sons of Lakṣamana, Aṅgada and Chandraketu, were respectively established in the Kārupatha and the Mallabhūmi territories with Aṅgadīyā and Chandrakāntā as their capitals. This testimony of the Rāmāyaṇa is supported by Kālidāsa in his Raghuvaṁśa[1] and the Purāṇas.[2] The connection of the Mallas with the family of Rāma through Chandraketu, the Malla, is seconded by the Buddhist testimony, which, as we have already seen,[3] describes them as having sprung up from the Ikṣvāku line of Kṣatriyas belonging to the Vasiṣṭha Gotra. Vasiṣṭhas were the family teachers of the solar-race Ksatriya kings of Ayodhyā. It was the custom with the Hindus that the family-names of the teachers were appropriated as Gotra-names and under this rule the Mallas came to be styled as Vāsiṣṭhas.

Kusinārā

The two seats of power of the Mallas in the days of the Buddha were Kusinārā and Pāvā.[4] It is suggested in the Mahāparinibbāna and Mahāsudassana suttas[5] of the Dīgha Nikāya that in the days of the Buddha Kusinārā was not a city of first rank, which could claim equality of status and greatness with either

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1. अङ्गदं चन्द्रकेतुं च लक्ष्मणोऽप्यात्मसंभवौ ।
   शासनाद्रघुनाथस्य चक्रे कारापथेश्वरौ ॥ XV. 90.
2. अङ्गदश्चन्द्रकेतुश्च लक्ष्मणस्यात्मजावुभौ ।
   हिमवत्पर्वताभ्यासे स्फीतौ जनपदौ तयोः ॥
   अङ्गदस्यांगदीया तु देशे कारपथे पुरी ।
   चन्द्रकेतोस्तुमल्लस्य चन्द्रवक्त्रापुरीशुभा ॥ Vāyu 88 187-8.
3. See ante. Page. 276.
4. DN. (Bom. Uni. Pub.) Pt II. PP. 130-1.
5. मा भन्ते इमस्मिं कुडुनगरके उज्जगलनगरके परिनिब्बायि । सन्ति भन्ते अञ्ञानि महानगरानि, सेय्यथीदं चम्पा, राजगहं, सावत्थि, साकेतं, कोसम्बि, बाराणसि, एत्थ भगवा परिनिब्बायतु ।
   DN. (Bom. Uni. Pub.) Pt. II. PP. 116 and 134.

Chaṁpā, Rājagṛiha, Sāketa, Kauśāmbī, Vārāṇasī, or Śrāvastī. It was a 'Little wattle and daub town' and 'a branch township in the midst of the jungle', where the Buddha was requested by his disciple Ānanda not to attain his Mahāparinirvāṇa. Politically, however, the Mallas were important in the list of the Ganas or Saṁghas[1] and were one of the sixteen great Janapadas[2] in the days of the Buddha. In ancient days, however, Kusinārā was known as Kuśāvatī.[3] It was the capital of king Mahāsudarśana, extending twelve Yojanas from south to north. It was then prosperous, populous, progressive, and pleasingly crowded. It is difficult to identify Mahāsudarśana. The Kusa-Jātaka, while referring to Kusāvatī, states[4] that it was the capital of king okkāka, who had two sons, Kusa and Jayampati. Okkāka is by no means to be identified with Ikṣvāku. He should be someone of his later descendants. The fact remains that Kusa (Sk. kuśa) was associated with Kuśāvatī. This Kuśa seems to have been none other than the son of Rāma, whose capital, Kuśāvatī, is known from the Rāmāyana and the Purāṇas but is wrongly shown to have existed in the Dekkan beyond the Vindhyas.[5] The Mahāvamsa[6] and the Dīpavaṁsa[7] inform that it was the capital of several kings belonging to the Mahāsāmanta line, in which Okkāka and others of the solar race were born Later, it seems, Kuśāvatī was occupied by the Mallas, when Kuśa, Rāma's son, left it in favour of Ayodhyā.[8] It must have been certainly in their possession for sufficiently long before the Buddha attained his Great Salvation there.

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1. MN. Sarnath (Hindi) Ed P. 140.
2. AN. (PTS.) Pt I P. 213 , Pt. IV. PP. 252,256, and 260
3. DN. (Bom Uni Pub) Pt. II. PP. 134ff.
4. Ed Fausboll, Vol V. PP. 278-9.
5. VR VII. 108 5 , Vāyu. 88.199-200 etc.
6. Ed. Gieger (PTS) II. P. 7.
7. Ed Oldenberg (Williams and Norgate) III. P. 9.
8. Refer to Raghuvamśa. XVI. VSS. 22-25.

Kusinārā is identified with the territories near modern Kasaya or Kusinagar in the Deoria district of Uttar Pradesh, 37 miles to the east of the Gorakhpur City. Kasaya is situated on the bank of the little Gandaki. The identification was first proposed by Wilson[1] and later accepted by Cunningham[2] and Carlleyle.[3] T. Watters,[4] however, questioned the correctness of this identification saying, "these archaeologists make much of a colossal image of Buddha in Nirvāṇa, but there is no mention of any colossal image in Yuan Chwang's account of the district." He was inclined to think[5] along the lines of V. A. Smith[6] that Kusinārā must have been situated somewhere in the Nepalese Terai But the evidence of the existence of the image of the Buddha in the Nirvāna posture, as referred to, cannot be lightly brushed aside, simply because Hiuen Tsiang makes no mention of it in his accounts. The Mahāparinirvāṇa Stūpa and the Chaityas or other small stūpas found in Rambhar and in Matha Kunwar Ka Kot[7] are proofs positive of the place's association with the last act of the drama of Buddha's life. Furthermore, modern excavations have proved beyond doubt that there was a Vihāra as well, which commemorated the attainment of salvation by the Buddha there. Clay seals have been found[8] with inscriptions, 'Mahāparinirvāna Bhikṣu Samgha' and 'Mahāparinirvāṇa Bhiksu Samghasya', which mean respectively 'The community of Friars at the Great decease' and 'of the community of Friars at the Great Decease'. Another inscription runs ; 'Śrī Mahāparinirvāṇa Mahāvihāriyārya Bhiksu Saṁghasya', i.e., ,of the community of reverend friars belonging to the great convent

1. Cf. PHAI. P. 126.
2. CAGI. PP. 493 and 713-4.
3. Arch. Sur. Ind. Rep XXII. PP. 16ff.
4. On Yuan Chwang's Travels, Vol. II. PP. 44ff.
5. Ibid.
6. Early History. 4th Ed. P. 167. F. N. 5 ; JRAS. 1897. P. 919 ; 1913. P. 152.
7. Arch. Sur. Ind. Rep. XVIII. 55ff. ; 1905-6. PP. 71ff.
8. Arch. Sur. Ind. Rep. 1910-11. P. 71.

of the blessed Great Decease'. However, these finds pose a question whether their findspots represent the site of the capital of the Mallas, viz. Kusinārā proper, or the place, where the Buddha breathed his last in the Sāla-upavattana of the Mallas on the bank of the Hiraṇyavatī. Many scholars seem to have confused the two places, whille trying to identify Kusinārā. The commemorative monuments should not be taken as representing the site of Kusinārā. They represent the site of the Buddha's Nirvāṇa. Hiuen Tsiang refers[1] to the Sāla-upavattana of the Mallas and states it to have been some three on four leagues to the north-west of Kusinārā. In face of this statement Kusinārā must be traced to the south-east of the site of the archaeological finds referred to above, Proceeding on these lines, some scholars believe[2] that the modern village of Anarudhawa near Kasaya[3] is the ancient site of Kusinārā. The name, kusinārā, changed into Anarudhawa because of a desire on the part of the Buddhist worshippers to associate the name of the famous disciple of the Buddha, Aniruddha, with the place. He remained in Kusinārā, according to the Aṭṭhakathā, to satisfy the grief-stricken Mallas after the Master's death. The identification of Kusinārā with Anarudhawa is accepted by the Indian Buddhists also.[4]

The next important settlement of the Mallas was at Pāvā,[5] the capital of one of their two branches. The Mallas of Pāvā seem to have branched off from Kusinārā and politically they were not so important as the latter. In Pāvā the Buddha accepted his last morsel of food, the 'Sukaramaddava', from Chunda Kammāra[6] before his

Pāvā

1. On Yuan Chwang's Travels, Vol. II. P. 28.
2. Arch Sur. Ind Rep. 1861-2, PP. 77ff. ; 1875-7 (XVIII) P. 92. and 96 ; 1905-6, P. 77 ; See also Gorakhpur Janapada, (Hindi), R B Pandey, P. 77
3. A. C. L. Carlleyle connected the name of Kasaya with Mahā-Kaśyapa Arch Sur. Ind. Rep. XVIII. P. 93.
4. SN. (Hindi Trans. Sarnath Ed) Vol. I. Introduction P. 4 ; Dharmarakshita, Kuśinagara Kā Itihāsa, P. 120.
5. DN. (Bom Uni. Pub) Pt. II. P. 131.
6. Ibid. PP 100ff.

Mahāparinirvāṇa in the suburban Śāla-groves of the Mallas of Kusinārā. The Buddha and Mahāvīra both were associated with the place. They often visited it and allowed its populace to have the benefit of their religious ministry.[1]

There are controversies regarding the exact identification of Pāvā and opinions differ in favour of many places. Cunningham identified it with the Modern Padarauna[2] town of the Deoria district, but one great objection to this identification is that it does not lie on the direct route from Rājagṛiha to Kusinārā, which the Buddha adopted for his last journey.[3] Dr. B C. Law takes[4] Pāvā, Pāpā or Pāvāpurī as the same as Kasia (Kasaya, i.e., ancient Kusinārā), "situated on the little Gandak river to the east of the district of Gorakhpur." This can hardly be accepted as correct in face of the various references in the Buddhist and Jain literature to the separate existence of Kusinārā and Pāvā. If the two places were identical what is the sense of the description of the last journey of the Buddha from Pāvā to Kusinārā for his Mahāparinirvāṇa,[5] it may be asked. Besides, the distance between the two places is also given in some accounts.[6] The Jains[7] and the Buddhists[8] both accept that Lord Mahāvīra died in Pāvā. The Jains believe that the place is the modern Pavapuri in the Patna district of Bihar. It seems absolutely unlikely, how-

1. DN. (Sarnath Hindi Ed.) PP. 136, 281 ; B. C. Law, Mahāvīra. PP. 31-2
2. CAGI P 434.
3. Refer to Mahāparinibbāna Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya.
4. Hist. Geog P 116.
5. DN. (PTS.) Vol. II PP. 126ff.
6. Udāna Commentary (PTS) P. 403.
7. Cf. B. C. Law, Mahāvīra, P 52.
8. MN. Sāmagāmasuttanta, 3.1 4.

ever, that the Buddha, an old man of eighty years of age and suffering from serious stomach trouble,[1] could have the strength enough to travel to Kusinārā from such a great distance as the present Pavapuri. Pāvā is sometimes identified with Papaur[2] near the Ramakola station of the north-eastern railway in the Gorakhpur district. But Papaur also, like Padarauna, does not lie on the direct route from Rājagṛiha to Kusinārā. Carlleyle[3] was of opinion that Pāvā existed on the site of present-day Fazilnagar or Chetiyanwa, i. e , Chaityagāṅwa (the village of Chaityas), ten miles to the south-east from the ruins of Kusinagar in the Deoria district. On this site are found various mounds and remains of ancient days. The Buddhists[4] of India and various other scholars[5] accept Carlleyle's identification of Pāvā with Fazilnagar as correct and until some more positive evidence is forthcoming the proposed site stands the most probable chance of being ancient Pāvā.

Literary notices of the Mallas

The Mallas of Kusinārā were devoted to the Buddha. The master visited the place many a time and preached there, and eventually he selected it for his great Nirvāna. At his instance Ānanda informed the Mallas, assembled in their Santhāgāra, about the impending death of the Teacher.[6] The Mallas

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1. DN (Bom. Uni Pub.) Pt II. PP 100ff
2. Rahul Sankrityayan, Buddhacharyā (Hindi) P. 487, footnote 1.
3. Arch Sur Ind Rep Vol. XVIII. P. 104 ; Vol. XXII. P. 30ff.
4. Intro to Hindi trans of SN Vol I. (Sarnath Ed.) P. 4.
5. Dr. R B Pandey, Gorakhpur Janapada (Hindi) P. 78 ; Indian Culture, Vol. XIV.
6. "गच्छ त्वं आनन्द कुसिनारायं पविसित्वा कोसिनारकानं मल्लानं आरोचेति:—अज्ज खो वासेट्ठा ! रत्तिया पच्छिमे यामे तथागतस्स परिनिब्बाणं भविस्सति। अभिक्कमथ वासेट्ठा ! अभिक्कमथ वासेट्ठा ! मा पच्छा विप्पटिसारिनो अहुवत्थ :............... तेन

[Footnote contd. on P, 283]

celebrated the occasion grandly and each one of their families with its head and members paid its respects to the Buddha, while being presented to him by Ānanda.[1] They also made wholesome preparations for his cremation at the Makuṭabandhana[2] and shared his bodily remains in the end with other Kṣatriya rulers and clans. The Mallas of Kusinārā erected Stūpas over them to honour the memory of the Master.[3]

Like the Mallas of Kusinārā, those of Pāvā also seem to have faith in the greatness and virtuous character of the Buddha. They are said to have honoured the Lord by inviting him to make the first use of an assembly-hall[4] (Santhāgāra), named Ubbhataka, which they had built for their purpose. Buddha accepted their request and preached his own teachings there. When the master died they claimed his sacred remains for the building of a Stūpa over the same on the ground that, like the Master, they were also Kṣatriyas.[5] They were faithful to lord Mahāvīra also, who gave his last sermon in Pāvā before his death. The Buddhist accounts[6] inform that after his death, the Jains suffered from internal

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[Contd] पन खो समयेन कोसिनारका मल्ला सन्थागारे सन्निपतिता होन्ति केनचिदे' व करणीयेन" DN. (Bom. Uni. Pub) Pt. II. P. 117.

1. अथ खो आयस्मा आनन्दो कोसिनारके मल्ले कुलपरिवत्तसो कुलपरिवत्तसो ठपेत्वा भगवन्तं वन्दापेसि—'इत्थन्नामो भन्ते मल्लो सपुत्तो सभरियो सपरिसो सामच्चो भगवतो पादे सिरसा वन्दती'ति ॥ Ibid P 118.
2. Ibid PP. 126-7
3. कोसिनारका'पि मल्ला कुसिनारायं भगवतो सरीरानं थूपंच महंच अकंसु । Ibid. P. 133.
4. DN (PTS.) Pt. III. P. 207.
5. DN (Bom. Uni Pub) Pt. II, PP. 131ff.
6. DN. (PTS.) Pt. III. P. 207; MN Sarnath (Hindi) Ed. PP 441ff.

schism. The laity, however, were quite faithful to that great teacher. The Jain Kalpasūtra states[1] that as a show of their respect the nine Mallakis celebrated the great occasion of Mahāvīra's death with illuminations, saying, "Since the light of intelligence is gone, let us make an illumination of material matter."

The Mallas had many other towns. Anupiyā[2] was perhaps the most important of their small settlements. The Buddha resided there in the mango-grove for seven days after his great renunciation, when he was on his way to Rājagṛiha.[3] Another town, known as Uruvelakappa, is mentioned in the Aṅguttara Nikāya.[4]

The Mallas were a powerful clan of athletes and warriors, a martial race "devoted to such manly sports as wrestling."[5] They were probably experts at fish-catching.[6] Bandhula, one of the greatest Mallians, was a great friend of Prasenajita, the Kośalan King, and Mahāli, the Lichchavi prince of Vaiśālī.[7] All the three had been school-fellows at Takṣaśilā. Bandhula was later appointed by Prasenajita as the commander-in-chief of his forces.[8] We have already discussed

1. (SBE.) Pt. I. XXII. P 266.
2. Cullavagga, VII I. 1
3. Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed.) Vol. I. PP 65-6
4. PTS. Ed , Pt IV, P. 438.
5. B. C Law, Tribes In Ancient India, P. 259 ; Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed.) Vol. II P. 96
6. 'Viśwa' glossary quoted by Dr. R. B. Pandey, Gorakhpur Janapada (Hindi) P. 52. F. N. 2.
7. DPPN. Vol. II. P. 266-67.
8. Ibid.

the maltreatment he received at the hands of that Kośalan king and its consequences in the contemporary politics of Kośala.

The extent of the Mallian State

The boundaries of the Mallian State are not exactly known. But the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims, specially that of Hiuen Tsiang, and some stray references in the Buddhist literature furnish us with some clue to the problem. Hiuen Tsiang proceeded to Kusinārā in the eastern direction from Rāmagrāma, passing through dense jungles infested by wild beasts and dacoits.[1] It is certain then that the western and north-western boundaries of the Mallas touched those of the Koliyas. In the south and the south-westernly direction flourished the Moriya Gaṇa and it was touched by the Mallian territories. It is difficult to say as to how far the Mallian state extended in the south and the south-east. That it touched the entire left bank of the Ghaghra river east of the present Barhaj Bazar town of Deoria district seems to be practically sure. Further, there are grounds to suppose that it extended also on the right bank of that river. In the Azamgarh district of Uttar Pradesh there is a small tract of land, which is now locally known as 'Malāna', i. e., 'the territory of the Mallas', roundabout the Madhuban Police station. This name of the area is a definite indication that the Mallas had their sway over it and the people that occupy it presently are perhaps their descendants, who still surname themselves as 'Mallas'. It is highly probable that the territory of the Mallas touched those of the Kośala kingdom in the south-west, Kāśī in the south, and Magadha in the south-east, somewhere in the present-day Ballia district of Uttar Pradesh. In the east, the Mallian Gana, as an autonomous part of Kośala, touched the Lichchavi State, the dividing line between the two being the Mahānandī or the Sadānīrā, the Bari Gandak of our own

1. T. Watters, On Yuan Chwang's Travels, Vol. II. P. 25.

day. The whole of the area, which constitutes now the saran district of Bihar and a portion of its Champaran district formed the territory of the Mallian Gaṇa, which directed its sway in the north and east from Pāvā. The Himālayan slopes were the northern frontiers of the Mallas. One may say in conclusion that in matters of territorial extent and political influence, the Mallian Gaṇa was by far the biggest and the most important amongst the Gaṇa States of Kośala.[1]

The duration of the Mallian-Gana as an independent entity seems to have been fairly long. The Mallas are referred to in the Mahābhārata[2] as a monarchy but very shortly after the great war, it seems, they developed into a Gaṇa form of rule. Most scholars believe[3] that the date of the great war was nearabout 1400 B. C. It may be suggested then that the life of the Mallian-Gana lasted from 1400 B. C. to about the days of Chandragupta Maurya with varying vicissitudes of its fortune

The duration of the Malla Power

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1. Dr. R. B. Pandey believes that it was the most important of all the contemporary Buddhist Ganas, vide-Gorakhpur Janapada (Hindi) PP 78-9

2 Mallas are independently mentioned in the Mbh II. 30 3

3 e g. Altekar, A. S, Ind Hist Congress Proceedings, Vol III PP, 65ff. There are other opinions also regarding the date of the Mahābhārata war Pargiter thought it to have occured in the 10th Century B. C. (AIHT. P. 182). H. C Raychaudhuri thought it to have been fought in the 9th Century B C. (PHAI. 4th Ed. PP. 27-29) The astronomical tradition places the beginning of the Kaliyuga in 3102 B C and there are some who put the Great War sometime about that date. This theory, however, is now generally rejected by scholars.

in that period. It is generally believed[1] on the authority of the Buddhist literature[2] that the Magadhan king Ajātaśatru in the onrush of his imperialist adventures conquered the Mallas and the Vajjis and thus put an end to their independent status The sway of Ekarāt Mahāpadmananda over the Aikṣvākus[3] is also referred to. It is difficult to say whether this reference included the Mallas as well. Kauṭilya in his Arthaśāstra, however, makes prominent mention of the Mallas and the Lichchavis as Saṃghas or Śrenīs.[4] He enjoins upon the imperialist centre (represented by Chandragupta Maurya of Pāṭaliputra) to get friendly with them because "the acquisition of the help of corporations is better than the acquisition of an army or of a friend."[5] One may venture to conclude that the Mallas and the Lichchavis had survived the onslaught of Ajātaśatru's machinations first and of his armies later and continued their independent, though insignificant, status upto the advent of the Mauryan imperialism. It is certain, however, that Kautilya practised in respect of the Mallas, what he preached in his Arthaśāstra and saw that the 'Spies gaining access to all these corporations and finding out jealousy, hatred, and other causes of quarrel among them, should sow the seeds of a well-planned dissension among them".[6] In the end he was successful in sowing the seeds of

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1. Dr D. R. Bhandarkar, Charmichael lectures, 1918. P 79.
2. Mahāparinibbāna Sutta, DN. (Bom. Uni. Pub.) Pt. II. PP. 59ff ; Aṭṭhakathā quoted by Rahul Sankrityayan in his 'Buddhacharyā' (Hindi) PP 520ff
3. ऐक्ष्वाकाञ्श्च पाञ्चालान् कौरव्यांश्चहैहयान्.................... एकराट् स महापद्मः एकछत्रो भविष्यति ।। Pargiter, DKA P. 69.
4. लिच्छिविक व्रजिक मल्लकमद्रक कुकुरकुरु पांचालादयो राजशब्दोपजीविनः । Arthaśāstra, BK. XI. 1.6.
5. संघलाभो दण्डमित्रलाभानामुत्तमः ।। Ibid. BK. XI. 1.1.
6. संघाति संहतत्वादधृष्याः परेषाम् । ताननुगुणान्भुंजीत सामदानाभ्याम् । वगुणान्भेददण्डाभ्याम् ।। Ibid. BK. XI. 1.2-4.

dissension amongst the Mallas and sealed their fate. He seems to have practised for his master, Chandragupta Maurya, the same kind of strategem against the Mallas, which his forerunner Vassakāra had adopted in serving Ajātaśatru against the Vajjis about a hundred and seventy-five years before.[1]

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1. Aṭṭhakathā quoted by Rahul Sankrityayan in 'Buddhacharyā' (Hindi) PP. 520ff.

CHAPTER VIII

PRINCIPLES OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT

Type of the State

The extensive territory of Kośala knew two forms of government, viz. Monarchical and non-monarchical. Ayodhyā, the original seat of Kośalan government, is credited by ancient Indian tradition to have been the first capital of an Indian monarchy[1]. Later also, when Śrāvastī became the capital of the kingdom, the Kośalan State remained a monarchy. But by the days of Gautama, when the solar dynasty was already on its way to decline, a few non-monarchical states had also come into existence in the northern and north-eastern parts of the kingdom. We have already discussed the history of their rise, growth, and downfall. Those states were short-lived and even in the heyday of their glory, they had to accept the suzerainty of the Kośalan kingdom[2]. Their constitution and government shall be discussed later.

The Koślan monarchy

The State of Kośala proper was a monarchy. Vālmīki, who idolised the solar dynasty of Ayodhyā by making the life and deeds of its most illustrious prince, Rāma, the subject-matter of his epic, the Rāmāyaṇa, knew no other form of state except that of a monarchy. He does not make any mention of republics in the Rāmāyana and it is likely that he knew none to have been existent in his days. In fact, the king was looked upon by him as the very symbol of government, for he vividly describes how a territory, where there is no king, becomes an anarchy and disorder sets in. Thus he says, "In a State without a king, not even the clouds give rain, nor is a handful of grain grown, sons do not

1. VR. I, Ch, 5.
2. Introduction to the Bhaddasāla Jātaka (Cowell's Eng. Ed.), Vol. IV P. 92 and DN. (PTS). Vol. III, P. 83.

obey their parents nor wives their husbands.........There is no respect for truth ....Young girls bedecked with ornaments cannot go to play in gardens outside the town in the evening, nor can people sleep with open doors or go to jungles in fast-moving vehicles with their sweethearts..... .like a river without water, or a jungle without grass, or herdsmen without cows is a state without a king .. ... As is the sight essential to the body; so is a king necessary to the state for the propagation of truth and religion[1]". "Oh ! there would be darkness indeed everywhere and nothing would be identifiable, if there were no kings dividing right from wrong[2]". Further he says, "As the chariot is heralded by its banner and fire is known by smoke, so is a king the banner (symbol) of his state and in a kingless state none can own any property and the people devour each other like fish[3]". Even in the days of the Buddha, the symbol of kingship was deemed necessary for a state The words of Vālmīki find almost verbatim support from the Saṁyutta Nikāya, where it is said, "From the flag is heralded the coming of a chariot and fire is presumed to be existent by the sign of smoke. The king is the symbol of a state[4]".

It is clear that the king was regarded the symbol of authority vested in a government. The commentators of the Vālmīki Rāmāyana[5], commenting on the term 'Arājaka Janapada', which is used by Vālmīki, explain it as a 'state without a king'. This explanation

1 VR. II 67 VSS 9, 10-11, 17-19, 21, and 33

2 अह्हो तम इवेदं स्यान्न प्रज्ञायेत् किंचन ।
राजा चेन्न भवेल्लोके विभजन् साध्वसाधुनी ॥
VR. II 67.36

3. ध्वजो रथस्य प्रज्ञानं धृमोज्ञान विभावसोः ।
तेषां यो नो ध्वजो राजा सदेवत्वमितो गत. ॥ VR. II. 67 30
नाराजके जनपदे स्वक भवति कस्यचित् ।
मत्स्या इव नरा नित्य भक्षयन्ति परस्परम् ॥ VR II. 67. 31.

4. Sarnath (Hindi) Ed Vol. I. P 43

5. Refer to VR., News. Printing Press, Bombay edition, with Tilaka, Śiromani and Bhūṣana commentaries and VR., Pandit Pustakalaya, Kāśi edition.

sounds fully correct in reference to the time, when, after Rāma had started for the Daṇḍaka forest, Daśaratha was dead, and there was no king on the throne of Ayodhyā[1], the people keenly felt the lack of the shade of royal protection.

Feudal elements

The kingdom of Kośala extended over a vast territory. Many renowned warriors and conquerors of the Kośalan kingdom, e.g., Māndhātā, Sagara, Raghu, and Daśaratha, made the valour of their arms felt in the four corners of the country. They mostly allowed themselves to be satisfied only with 'Dharmavijaya' and did not extend the sway of their direct rule over the conquered territories[2]. There are ample references, which go to prove the feudal character of the Kośalan kingdom. The court of Ayodhyā, the first capital of Kośala, is described in the Vālmīki Rāmāyana to have been crowded with the assembly of feudal kings ready with their presents[3]. The question is hardly left in any doubt, when the Buddhist canon also is taken into account. Thus conferred the Śākyas of Kapilavastu, when Prasenajita, the Kośalan king, demanded the hands of one of their daughters, "We live in a place subject to the authority of the king of Kośala, if we refuse a daughter, he will be angry and if we give her, the custom of our clan is broken[4]." The vassalage of the Śākyas is further proved by the Aggañña Sutta[5] and accepted by no less a person than the Buddha himself, when he accepts them as being the followers of Prasenajita and offering him their respects by doing homage, bowing, folding their hands, and standing in attendance on him. That Kapilavastu itself was

1 VR. ii.67.6-9.

2. For Raghu it is said.
गृहीतप्रतिमुक्तस्य स धर्मविजयीनृप: । Raghuvaṁśa IV 43.

3. सामन्तराजसंघैश्च बलिकर्मभिरावृताम् । VR. i 5.14.

4 Introduction to the Bhaddasāla Jātaka (Cowell's Eng. Ed.), Vol IV. P.92.

5. करोन्ति खो सक्या रञ्ञो पसेनदिह्मि कोसले निपच्चकारं अभिवादनं पच्चुपट्ठान अंजलिकम्मं सामिचिकम्मं । DN. Vol. III. (PTS) P.83.

included in the Kośalan kingdom is expressly mentioned in the Anguttara Nikāya[1], where it is said that the Buddha once upon a time, while making his rounds in Kośala, came to Kapilavastu. It is very significant that in the Majjhima Nikāya[2], Prasenajita, while striking similarity between himself and the Buddha, claims the latter to be a Kośalan. Still more telling is the fact that the Buddha himself in an answer to an enquiry of the Magadhan king, Bimbisāra, describes himself to be a Kośalan[3]. In the light of these references the learned views of Dr. R. C. Majumdar that the existence of a tree on the boundary of Vidūḍabha's realm and the Śākyan territory "clearly proves that the Śākya terriotry just touched the boarder, but was outside the jurisdiction of the Kośalan kingdom[4]" can hardly be accepted. Dr. B C. Sen[5] has raised an objection as to why Prasenajita asked for the hands of a Śākyan daughter[6] and sent an embassy for that purpose, if the latter were not an independent people. It is forgotten, however, that the whole purpose of that considerate king might have been defeated, if he would have forcibly taken one of their daughters, since he wanted to be nearer the Buddha and more intimate to him by that marriage alliance with his family In the Pañcarājañña Sutta of the Saymutta Nikāya[7] Prasenajita is described to have been conversing with five kings, i.e., Chieftains It is very difficult to identify those five kings but it is likely that they might have been autonomous heads of royal domains. We come across

1. एक समय भगवा कोसलेसु चारिक चरमानो येन कपिलवत्थु तद' वसारि ।
   AN. (PTS) I.P.276.
2. Sarnath (Hindi) Ed. P. 366.
3. उजुं जनपदो राजा हिमवन्तस्स पस्सतो ।
   घनविरियेन सम्पन्नो कोसलेसु निकेतिनो ।।
   आदिच्चा नाम गोत्तेन खात्तिया नाम जातिया ।
   तम्हा कुलो पब्बजितो म्हि राजा न कामे अभिपत्थये ।।
   Pabbajjāsutta, Sutta Nipāta, Sarnath Ed. P 82.
4. Corporate Life 2nd Ed P 235 , The learned doctor's view is based on the preamble to Bhaddasāla Jātaka (Cowell's Eng. Ed.), Vol. IV P. 96.
5. Studies In the Jātakas, P. 27
6. Bhaddasāla Jātaka. (Cowell's Eng. Ed.), Vol. IV. P. 92.
7. Sarnath Hindi Ed. Pt. I. P. 75.

such a chieftain, named Pāyāsi, who ruled over the township of Setavyā, which was gifted to him by Prasenajita[1]. When the ancient kingdom of Kāśī ceased to have its independent existence and became a part and parcel of the kingdom of Kośala[2], its administration was carried on by an uterine brother of Prasenajita and its governor was called Kāśirāja[3]. The title suggests that he carried on more or less an autonomous administration. Dr. H. C Raychaudhuri opines that the rulers of Kālāmas of Kesaputta and of Devadaha were amongst these five Rājās[4]. There is no direct proof to ascertain whether the Mallas accepted the Kośalan over-lordship or not. But it is highly possible that the Mallian court of Kusinārā felt the indirect influence of the powerful kingdom of Kośala. We know that Bandhula, the Mallian of Kusinārā, was the senāpati of Prasenajita[5].

Inspite of the fact that monarchical government in India was absolute in theory, it was limited in practice. Indian literature pertaining to Kośala is replete with such references, where the rulers are described to show paternal love and care for their subjects[6].

The limited character of the kośalan monarchy

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1 तेनखोपन समयेन पायासिराजञ्ञो सेतव्य अज्झावसति सतुस्सद सतिण-कट्ठोदक सधञ्ञ राजभोग्ग रञ्ञा पसेनदिकोसलेन दिन्न राजदाय ब्रह्मदेय्य ।

DN. Bombay Uni. Pub II.P.231, The Jain tradition also refers to Paesī, the ruler of Seyaviyā (Setavyā) as having accepted the Vassalage of the king of Sāvatthī (Śrāvastī), named Jiyasattu (Jitaśatru, a title of Prasenajita perhaps), and having sent presents to the latter Cf. J. C. Jain, Life In Ant India, 1947 P. 394.

2. See ante Ch. III

3 Cf DPPN Vol I. P. 592, Mahāvagga (Vinayapitaka) SBE. XXII. P. 195.

4 PHAI. PP.155 and 199

5 DPPN. II. PP 266-7.

6 विदित भवतामेतद्यथा मे राज्यमुत्तमम् ।
पूर्वकैर्ममराजेन्द्रैर्सुतवत्परिपालितम् ॥ VR. ii. 2 4'

Or

प्रजानां विनयाधानाद्रक्षणाद्भरणादपि ।
स पिता पितरस्तासां केवलं जन्महेतवः ॥ Raghuvaṁśa, i.24.

That it was a very poignant sense of loving care and benevolent attitude, which moved the kings of Kośala to be ever mindful of the interests of their subjects, is left in no doubt by the words used in these references. The words are: "protected like a son[1]". Nowhere in any literary or historical work pertaining to our enquiry has any sense of royal supremacy been paraded. It is true, a father is the master over his sons and he can treat them as he likes, but he is always motivated by the sense that good be done by him. Likewise, no autocratic or despotic rule was possible in those days ,when social and religious bonds had authority over the princes and peasents alike. The limitations round the ancient monarchy of the Hindus were more or less socio-religious or socio-legal as compared to the constitutional and legal of the modern days. The social system of the Hindus, especially the Varna and Āśrama systems, had such a hold that even the most powerful kings could not throw away their clutches. This factor of the Hindu view of life has to be sympathetically appreciated before any opinion on their polity and administration is expressed. None was free to transgress the limits of his own Varna and it was the duty of the king to see that nobody really ventured to do so[2]. Any sort of neglect in this respect resulted into the misfortune of the subjects. The penance of the Śūdra Risi Śambūka had its baneful consequence in the death of an only and minor son of a poor Brāhmana[3]. Rāma heard the wailing Brāhmana in his court, accepted his charge, and started to find out the cause of the premature demise of his minor son. The death of the poor child, it was deemed, was the outcome of the sin of Rāma[4], the King.

1. सुतवत्परिपालितम् । VR. ii 2.4 This can be very well compared to the spirit of government as it is inunciated in the Mahābhārata (Śānti Parva LVI. 44), where it is said that the king should behave towards his subjects as a mother towards her offspring, disregarding all comforts and making all sacrifices in the interest of the latter". Cf. Beni Pd., Theory of Govt. P. 40
2. Beni Pd., The State In Ancient India, P. 73.
3 VR VII. 74 29.
4. रामस्य दुष्कृतेनायं बाल एव ममात्मजम् ।
अकृत्वा पितृकार्याणि गतोवैवस्वतोक्षयम् ॥ VR. VII. 73.10

To Face P. 295

King Prasenajita proceeds on a chariot to the Buddha

By courtesy Arch. Sur. of India

He found the Śūdra Ṛṣi Śambūka engaged in penance, punished him for his transgression of limit, and Lo! the Brāhmaṇa's son stood up alive[1]. We may or may not accept this narrative as sober history but the moral behind it hardly leaves any doubt about the influence of the Varṇa-theory on the then Hindu society.

The ascetics had a right to advise and even to admonish a king, deviating from the correct path of administration. It is of particular historical interest to find the Buddha, wedded as he was to the democratic traditions of the Śākyan administration and his own religious order, admonishing Prasenajita for neglect of duty. We are told, "at one time they say, the king intoxicated with power and devoted to the pleasures of sin, held no court of Justice, and grew remiss in attending the Buddha One day he remembered the Daśabala. Thought he, 'I must visit him'. So after breaking his fast, he ascended his magnificent chariot and proceeding to the monastery, greeted him and took a seat. 'How is it great king', asked the Bodhisatta, 'that you have not showed yourself for so long' 'O, Sir', replied the king, 'I have been so busy that there has been no opportunity of waiting upon you'. 'Great king', quoth he, 'not meet it is to neglect such as I am, who can give admonition' .... ..'A king ought to rule vigilant in all kingly duties, to his subjects like mother or father, forsaking all evil courses, never omitting the virtues of a king. When a king is righteous, those who surround are righteous also[2]'. Still more significant and suggestive is the reference, where Sakka, the king of the Tāvatiṁsa devas is imagined rather in the likeness of a chieftain of a Kośala clan[3] He is no absolute monarch. The gods meet him and deliberate in the Suddhamā Sabhā and Sakka consults with them rather than issues them commands[4].

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1 VR VII 76 4-15

2. Introduction to the Janasandha-Jātaka (Cowell's Eng. Ed) Vol. IV. P. 109; A comparison can be drawn here to Śānti Parva's adulation of righteousness in a king. Vide—Mbh. XII. Ch. 85.

3. Cf. DPPN. Vol. II. P. 958.

4. DN (Bombay Uni. Pub.) Vol. II. P. 168.

That it was the traditional desire of the Kośalan monarchs to always consult their advisors is left in no doubt. We find that Daśaratha consulted his ministers even about non-official matters, e.g., the marriage of his sons[1]. However, it cannot be claimed that the king was bound by the advice of his ministers. In certain cases he is not only advised to ignore those ministers, who forsake the state-interests and go under the impell of their own selfish motives, but also to remove them from their offices[2]. But this was a principle to be followed only in exceptional times, as indicated above. Ordinarily, the Kautilyan principle, viz. "Sovereignty is possible only with assistance, a single wheel can never move; hence he shall employ ministers and listen to their opinion[3]", held good. Prasenajita is said to have been so respectful and mindful of his ministers that he initiated no serious work without prior consultations with and advice of his ministers, Śrīvriddha and Mrigadhara[4]. Indeed, the Mahājanapada period seems to be crowded with a galaxy of important and powerful ministers in almost all the mid-Indian kingdoms

Ancient Indian kings were always mindful of the good or bad effects of a virtuous or sinful conduct and the resultant heaven or hell[5], which might be in store for them on account of their obeying or disobeying Dharma, i.e., the established law of society. These considerations had their cumulative effects on the attitude of kings and consequently monarchy became circumscribed in its authority

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1. VR i 18. 36-37
2. Ibid VI. 63. 14-18, It is also said of Bimbisāra that he could degrade or turn out a minister, if found to be incompetent. Vide-Fick, Soc. Org P 141.
3. Arthaśāstra. i.7.15, Mahābhārata (Śānti Parva. CVI. 11) says that "a king without a minister cannot govern his kingdom even for three days"
4. Cf. 'Prāchīna Bhāratiya Śāsana Paddhati (Hindi) Altekar, P. 112.
5. राजा तु धर्मेण हि पालयित्वा महामतिर्दण्डधर. प्रजानाम् ।
अवाप्य कृत्स्नां वसुधा यथावदितश्च्युतः स्वर्गमुपैति विद्वान् ॥
VR. II. 100. 76.

The Central Government

The king: His titles and ideals

The Kośalan kings, as heads of the state, styled themselves as 'Sārvabhauma[1]'. Their ideals were very high. The Rāmāyaṇa puts them in very apt terms, when it says, "only that king is able to acquire fame in the world, who is accompanied by righteous people, is full of kindness and has got control over his senses, is grateful for the good done to him, and is truthful[2]". In the Buddhist canon also righteousness has been acclaimed as the greatest requirement of a monarchy. If the kings are unrighteous and unjust, "honey, molasses, and the like as well as wild roots and fruits lose their sweetness and flavour and not only these but the whole realm becomes bad and flavourless[3]." Even Prasenajita, one of the foremost Kośalan rulers, was admonished in the above vein by no less a person than the Buddha himself, who told him: "whenever kings are unrighteous, then also are his officers unrighteous[4]." That the kings of Kośala lived upto these expectations is amply proved. Bhagīratha is credited to have ruled only for the sake of the 'prosperity of his kingdom[5].' Daśaratha has been styled 'the beloved of the Pauras and Jānapadas[6].'

The highest tribute in this respect is, however, given to Rāma, undoubtedly the most illustrious of the Kośalan Kings. His government is still remembered as a byword for ideal administration 'Rāmarājya, as it is called, was not anything in the nature of an isolated affair but it was the very climax, of an administrative

1 For Rāma it is said in the Rāmāyana:
"सार्वभौमकुलेजात सर्वलोकसुखावहः ।" i.e., born into a 'Sārvabhauma family and the cause of the happiness of the whole world. II. 88.18.
2. सत्वाभिजन सम्पन्न. सानुक्रोशो जितेन्द्रियः ।
कृतज्ञः सत्यवादी च राजा लोके महीयते ॥ VR. IV. 34.7
3. Rājovāda-Jātaka, No 334, Fausboll's Ed. Vol. III. P. 111.
4. Introduction to Tachcha Sūkara-Jātaka (cowell's Eg. Ed.), Vol. V.P. 59.
5. समृद्धार्थो नरश्रेष्ठ स्वराज्यं प्रशशासह । VR. I. 44.18.
6. दीर्घदर्शी महातेजा पौरजानपदप्रियः । VR. I 6.1

movement, which had its start in Kośala from the days of its earliest history. Between Ikṣvāku and Rāma, there appeared on the Kośalan scene of history many kings like Māndhāta, Hariśchandra, Sagara, Raghu and Daśaratha[1], who were such great and good administrators that they have created a permanent niche for themselves in Indian tradition. The rulers of Kośala were always actuated by a high sense of respect for public opinion in their behaviour towards their subjects. Sagara, the great conqueror, had to forsake his son Asamañjasa, who used to take pleasure by throwing innocent children in the river Sarayū, on account of the pressure of public opinion[2]. But the position, which Rāma occupied as an ideal administrator in the hearts of the common men, is hardly paralleled in Indian history. The reason was the personal example, which he set as a ruler. The most noteworthy thing in him in this regard was his sense of perfect respect for public opinion, which he always tried to be in the know. of[3]. We have already seen[4] as to how, having heard public gossips against Sītā, he exiled her in the forest-undoubtedly the hardest decision of his life. Nothing was immune from public criticism and Rāma bowed before the same. Such a keen sensitiveness topublic opinion, accepting the same without any argument, and living upto it in a most exemplary way is indeed most remarkable and without parallel. It was the constant effort of the Kośalan kings to always retain the public trust.

The king was the supreme guide, friend and philosopher of his subjects. He was responsible for all the affairs of the state in every department. He was the chief "executive officer, the chief judge, and the chief military commander[5]".

The functions of the king

1. Bd. Pt III. 63 8-214, Vāyu. 88.8-213, Matsya. 12.25-57, Padma Pt. III.8.130-162, Viṣṇu. Pt.. IV. Chapters 2, 3, and 4 etc
2. स तासां वचन श्रुत्वा प्रकृतीना नराधिप. ।
   तं तत्याजाहितं पुत्र तासां प्रियचिकीर्षया ॥ VR. II. 36.23.
3. VR. VII. 43 4.
4. See ante. Ch. V.
5. Beni Pd., The State In Ancient India, P. 110.

The king was the supreme executive officer of the state. Not only that he proclaimed orders and issued writs[1] to his subordinate officers, but sometimes he had to himself take the responsibility of executive functions. Since he was the protector of his people, it was his duty to free them from internal insecurity and external dangers. In times not very tranquil, internal oppression from highway robbers and antisocial elements of the society was very great. Prasenajita is often referred to as having himself taken the field for uprooting those elements[2]. The Rāmāyana says that Rāma himself started to find out the cause of the death of the Brāhmana boy, and finding out the Śūdra Ṛṣi engaged in penance he punished him for that socially unauthorised action[3]. The Nanacchanda—Jātaka[4] speaks of kings' tours in disguised forms, usually at nights, to find out the real conditions of the people and to know public opinion about their administration. Such tours proved to be of great value in formulating executive policies of administration. The vigilance on the part of the king is emphasized so much so that he has been described "as the very eye of his kingdom. He is the very embodiment of truth and Dharma. He is the father and mother of his subjects, the family of the family-holders, and one who provides happiness and prosperity to his people[5]."

The king was the supreme judge of his realm. We are told that Rāma, having heard the pathetic wailings of a poor Brāhmaṇa on the death of his only son, called a meeting of the Brāhmaṇas, the ministers, the members of the Nigama, i.e., the city council,

1. Pre-Buddhist India, P. 129.
2 Introduction to Kalāya-Muṭṭhi Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed Vol II P. 74), Introduction to Kosiya Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed) Vol. II. P 208
3 VR. VII. Chs. 75 and 76.
4 Fausboll's Ed Vol. II. PP. 427ff.
5 यथा दृष्टिः शरीरस्य नित्यमेव प्रवर्त्तते ।
तथा नरेन्द्रो राष्ट्रस्य प्रभवः सत्यधर्मयोः ॥
राजा सत्यं च धर्मश्च राजा कुलवतां कुलम् ।
राजा माता पिता चैव राजा ह्तिकरोनृणाम् ॥ VR. II. 67.33-34.

and the Ṛisis in order to find out the cause of the premature death of the poor boy[1]. There the Brāhmana came as a complainant into the highest court of justice and before the Chief Judge, the king. Later in the days of Prasenajita, the judicial functions of the king had become a little difficult to perform. It is interesting to note him complaining to the Buddha against his eminent nobles and Brāhmaṇas, who spoke deliberate lies in order to serve their own selfish ends at a time when he was sitting in his judgment-hall, 'Aṭthakarana[2].' That the king, as head of the judicial department, had sometimes trying times on account of unjust judges of his kingdom, is amply proved by the incident in which Bandhula, the commander-in-chief of Prasenajita's army is described to have retried some cases, which were unjustly disposed off by the regular judges[3]. The result was the removal of those judges, their consequent jealousy, and dinning into the ears of Prasenajita against Bandhula. This caused the removal of Bandhula, which ultimately proved a great source of acrimony between the king and the commander-in-chief[4].

The king had also to bear heavy military responsibilities He was his own supreme commander and the leader of his army in important battles. The king was expected to protect his people and the kingdom from external aggression, and it was also expected of him to launch upon new conquests. The kings of Kośala, great conquerors as they were, directed their compaigns in person and thus provided the leadership to the army. The most important of those were Māndhātā, Sagara, Raghu, and Rāma. Brihadbala, while leading his army, was killed by Abhimanyu in the great Mahābhārata war[5]. Prasenajita led many a campaign against his Magadhan contemporary, Ajātaśatru[6].

1 VR. VII 74 1-6
2. Atthakaraṇa Sutta, SN., PTS Pt. I PP 74ff
3. DPPN II. PP. 266-7.
4 Ibid , See ante. Ch. VI
5. Viṣṇu, Gītā Press Ed. Pt. IV. 4.112.
6. Introduction to Taccha-Sūkara Jātaka (Cowell's Eng. Ed.) Vol IV. P. 216, Saṃgāma Suttas of SN. (Sarnath Hindi Ed.) PP 76ff.

The law of succession: Primogeniture

Succession to the throne in the Kośalan kingdom was based on the theory of primogeniture and was accepted in a hereditary manner It was the ideal of the Kośalan kings to practise 'Yoga' in their old age[1] and often they handed over the charge of their sovereignty to their successors as soon as they began to decline in age[2]. Thus, when Daśaratha became conscious of his approaching age, he at once decided to appoint his eldest son, Rāma, as the crown-prince[3] The Purānas leave absolutely no doubt about the theory of succession to the throne in a hereditary manner. The very often and invariable use of the words like 'tasmāt' in them[4], while denoting the order of succession, goes to prove the lineal connections of the new incumbents of the throne to its old masters. The history of Kośala does not present us any case of election to the throne of either Ayodhyā or Śrāvastī. It was the law of primogeniture which governed the succession. Bharata recognised this rule, when he said to his ministers and Brāhmanas, "In our family, only the eldest one is coronated as the king[5]" and, according to him, this was a rule "especially observed in the Ikṣvāku line.[6]" It was "not proper for the younger born to occupy the throne", while "the elder born is living[7]." So, said he to Vasistha, "Only Rāma, who is the eldest, the best, the most

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1 योगेनान्ते तनुत्यजाम् । Raghuvamśa. I. 8.

2 गुणवत्सुतरोपितश्रिय परिणामे हि दिलीपवंशजा: । Ibid VIII 11

3 VR. I Ch. 1

4 Visnu Pt IV. Chs. Iff, Padma Pt III Ch. 8, Kūrma RÁSB Ed. Ch 20.

5 अस्मिन् कुले हि पूर्वेषा ज्येष्ठो राजाभिषिच्यते ।
अपरेभ्रातरस्तस्मिन् प्रवर्तन्ते समाहिता: ॥ VR. II. 73.20

6 सतत राजवृत्ते हि ज्येष्ठो राज्येऽभिषिच्यते ।
राज्ञामेतत्सम तत्स्यादिक्ष्वाकुणां विशेषत: ॥ Ibid. II 73.22.

7. शाश्वतोऽय सदा धर्मः स्थितोऽस्मासु नरर्षभ ।
ज्यष्ठे पुत्रे स्थिते राज्ञां कनीयान्न भवेन्नृप: ॥ Ibid. II. 101.2.

religious, and is comparable to Dilīpa and Nahusa, is worthy of ruling the kingdom as was Daśaratha[1]."

The eldest prince was anointed as the crown-prince and was kept under actual apprenticeship by the ruling sovereign. He was given practical lessons in the art of administration before his actual accession to the throne and coronation as a sovereign.

The crown-prince and his coronation

The most important example in this connection is presented by the Rāmāyaṇa by way of the proposed anointment of Rāma. The ability, personality, and character of the would-be 'Yuvarāja' were thoroughly taken into account before the decision was made. The eulogies paid to Rāma regarding the alround fitness of his personality for being the crown-prince are very significant[2]. The behaviour and conduct of the prince towards the people of Ayodhyā, Brāhmanas, the ministers, his own family, and to the reigning monarch were all considered[3]. Rāma is credited to have possessed the "capacity to distinguish—whom to make the object of his kindness and whom to be angry on; how well to acquire wealth and how to wield the rod of justice[4]". He had "acquired the learning of the Śāstras" and was "in the know of fine arts in all their details", but at the same time he also knew "how to ride and discipline elephants and horses[5]". He was "without peer amongst the archers, was capable of organising campaigns against the enemies and vanquishing them in battle as

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1 ज्येष्ठ श्रेष्ठश्च धर्मात्मा दिलीपनहुषोपमः ।
लब्धुमर्हति काकुत्स्थो राज्य दशरथो यथा ॥ Ibid II 82.13

2 VR. II Chs 1ff.

3. Ibid.

4. शास्त्रज्ञश्च कृतज्ञश्च पुरुषान्तरकोविदः ।
यः प्रग्रहानुग्रहयोर्यथान्यायं विचक्षणः ॥
सत्संग्रहप्रगहणे स्थानविनिग्रहस्य च ।
आयकर्मण्युपायज्ञः संदृष्टव्ययकर्मवित् ॥ VR. II. 1. 25-26.

5. Ibid. II. 1. 27-28.

well as as an expert in leading an army[1]". Besides these qualifications, the desires of the 'Prakritis[2]', especially the subjects, were also counted. But that desire did not always count in ultimate decisions. It is clear from the fact that, even after Daśaratha had promised to fulfill the intriguing will of Kaikeyī that Rāma be sent to the Dandaka forest and Bharata be installed in his place as the crown-prince, the people liked only Rāma to be honoured with that position, but ultimately their opinion went unheeded[3].

The consecration of the crown-prince was a grand royal affair, in which almost all the sections of the population took keen interest and for which their tacit agreement was obtained. While proposing that Rāma be appointed the crown-prince, Daśaratha not only consulted his council of ministers[4] but also sent for the people from so many towns[5] and made his intention known to their vast Parisad[6] (assembly). He offered them either to accept his proposal or if otherwise, to put forth their own proposition[7]. The great assembly of the Brāhmanas, the officials of the State, and the 'Paura-Jānapadas' accepted the proposal with one voice and full acclamation[8]. The Brāhmanas, especially Vasistha and Vāmadeva, were requested to fully prepare for the proposed consecration[9]. After due preparations, in which the capital city and the court were made to present the look of greatest gaity, pleasure, and beauty, [10]"the royal teachers, the Brāhmanas, the 'Paura-

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1 Ibid. II 1.29

2. कालधर्मं गते राम सगरे प्रकृतीजनाः ।
राजान रोचयामासुरशुमन्त सुधार्मिकम् ॥ VR I 42.1.
The Prakritis have been enumerated as seven · The Sovereign, officials, territory, forts, treasury, army, and allies. Arthaśāstra. VI. 1.

3. Cf. Beni Pd The State In Ant. India, P 109.

4 VR. II 1 42

5 Ibid. II 1.46

6 Ibid. II 2.1.

7. Ibid. II 2.15-16.

8 Ibid. II. 2.19ff.

9. Ibid. II. 3 3.

10. Ibid. II. Ch. 3.

Jānapadas', the Naigamas and the Gaṇas'[1], and the vassal kings of Daśaratha presented themselves to watch the ceremony. Such great preparations were no doubt a part and parcel of a royal show but at the same time they present us an opportunity to look into the assiduous respect and a very earnest desire on the part of the Kośalan sovereigns to fully take the people into confidence, while taking important decisions and avail their active co-operation in the execution of the same.

King's Coronation

Kālidāsa refers to the adoption of base means by some princes for the attainment of the throne in the very life-time of their reigning elders but claims that the Ayodhyā dynasty was singularly free from this evil.[2] We know, however, the case of Viḍūdabha, who successfully conspired against his father, Prasenajita[3], and usurped the throne of Śrāvastī with the help of his army-commander, Dīrgha Kārāyana[4] In the Kośalan kingdom, however, this was only a solitary exception and the result of some family misunderstanding between the father and the son[5] The general practice in regard to the attainment of kingship in Kośala was that usually the crown-princes were elevated to the high position of royalty and were accepted as such by the high dignitaries of the state on the one side and by the influential people of the society on the other very soon after the death of the preceding kings. All these people assembled in the court as soon as the obsequies of the late king were over and the coronation

1 सर्ववादित्रसघाश्च वैश्याश्चालकृता स्त्रियः ।
आचार्या ब्राह्मणा गावः पुण्याश्चमृगपक्षिणः ।।
पौरजानपदश्रेष्ठा नैगमाश्च गणै सह ।
एते चान्ये च बहवः प्रीयमाणा प्रियवदाः ।।
अभिषेकाय रामस्य सह तिष्ठन्ति पार्थिव । Ibid, II. 14.40-42.

2 Raghuvamśa. VIII.2.

3 Cf DPPN. I. P 1079

4. Ibid

5. Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed.) Vol. I. PP 133ff. and again Vol. IV P. 148. In the contemporary Magadhan Kingdom Ajātaśatru was a parricide. Cf. Introduction to Jātaka No. 530 (PTS. Ed.).

ceremony of the new incumbent to the throne was completed by the Rājakrits[1]. Almost all the ceremonies, which had to be gone through at the time of the anointment of a crown-prince, were once more repeated at the time of the coronation of the king. Besprinkling of the roads in the capital city, the decorations there, and fanning up of the sense of pleasure in the inhabitants, which are described in the Vālmīki Rāmāyana[2] on the eve of Rāma's proposed anointment as a crown-prince, are remarkably corroborated by the Dasaratha Jātaka[3] and almost the same words are used to denote those preparations on the occasion of Rāma's coronation as a king. The people who were present for the ceremonies of Rāma's consecration as crown-prince included the teachers (of the princes including Rāma), the Brāhmanas, and the 'Paura-Jānapadas[4]' It is remarkable that after the death of Daśaratha, when Rāma had already gone to the forest and the throne was vacant the 'Rājakartāraḥ' assembled in the court and proposed that 'some one amongst the Iksvākus be coronated as king' that very day[5] The 'Rājakartāraḥ' included the Brāhmanas, namely Mārkandeya, Maudgalya, Vāmadeva, Kaśyapa, Kātyāyana, Gautama, and Jābāli[6] These Brāhmanas alongwith the ministers were of varied opinions and in the end they had to look towards the great 'Rājapurohita' Vasistha for the final decision[7].

1. तत प्रभातसमये दिवसे च चतुर्दशे ।
   समेत्य राजकर्त्तारो भरत वाक्यमब्रुवन् ॥
   गतो दशरथ. स्वर्गं यो नो गुरुतरोगुरु. ।
   गम प्रव्राज्य वै ज्येष्ठ लक्ष्मण च महाबलम् ।
   त्वमेव भव नो राजा राजपुत्र महायश· । VR II 79 1-3.
2 Ibid II. Ch 3.
3. No 461 (Cowell's Eng. Ed), Vol. IV. P. 82
4 VR II 14 40.
5 इक्ष्वाकुणामिहाद्यैव कश्चिद्राजा विधीयताम् । Ibid. II. 67 8.
6 Ibid. II. 67 3.
7. एतेद्विजा: सहामात्यै: पृथग्वाचमुदीरयन् ।
   वसिष्ठमेवाभिमुखा: श्रेष्ठ राजपुरोहितम् ॥ Ibid. II. 67. 4.

It would be proper here to ascertain the true meaning and significance of the term 'Rājakartāraḥ'. What does this phrase signify? It has been and perhaps still is a subject of keen controversy[1]. The high ministers, according to Dr. K. P. Jayaswal, "were still called 'king makers' in the Rāmāyaṇa[2]". That these Rājakartrins comprised of, besides the ministers, the 'Pārisadyas', i.e., the members of the Privy-council as well is suggested by Vālmīki[3]. Miss P. C. Dharma is of opinion that the 'Rājakartārah' were the advisory part of the cabinet, the councillors. "The Brahmin sages constituted the Rājakartārah[4]". But she does not make it clear whether they formed any institution meant to determine the succession and whether their advice was binding or not. Dr V R.R Dikshitar took the Vedic term 'Rājakartārah' to mean the 'mantriparisad' and opined that it 'continued in the same meaning both in the Pāli Canon and in the epics[5]". But it is difficult to agree with his assumptions "that these functionaries", i.e., the 'Rājakartāraḥ' "were the chief ministers of the state" and that each one of them "had a place in the Mantri Pariṣad[6]". The Rāmayāna hardly leaves any doubt about the fact that the ministers and the 'Rājakartāraḥ' were not identical. It cannot be said that the 'Rājakartāraḥ' signified an agency exclusively responsible for the election or the selection of the crown-prince and the king, though at the same time it cannot be denied as well that their voice in the matter was very potent This is clear from the fact that in the Rāmāyana Vālmīki introduces the 'Rājakartārah' after the decision of appointing Rāma as crown-prince had already been taken by king Daśaratha in consultation

The Rājakartāraḥ

1 Refer to R C Majumdar, Corporate Life PP 107ff , V R R Dikshitar, HAI PP. 139ff , K P Jayaswal, Hindu Polity, Ch XXIII etc

2 Hindu Polity, P 204.

3 ऊचुस्ते वचनमिद निशम्य हृष्टा· सामात्याः सपरिषदो वियातशोका· ।
VR. II 79 17

4. ABORI., XXIII. PP.219ff.

5. HAI. P. 139.

6 Ibid

with his ministers[1]. They assembled for the preparations of the anointment and inspite of their unanimous wish that Rāma be appointed the crown-prince, the things moved on in such a way, on account of some family and court complications at Ayodhyā, that Rāma had to proceed to the forest and in his separation, Daśaratha died. Times were unusual and critical and great fears of anarchy[2] being supreme, the 'Rājakartārah' had to make a second choice and had to propose to Bharata to accept the throne. The ground for that request, however, was that "the greatest of the great, king Daśaratha had gone to the heavens after sending the eldest-born Rāma to the forest along with the valiant Lakṣamana[3]". Evidently Bharata was not their first choice and his name was proposed for the throne only to satisfy an emergent necessity in the absence of the eldest born, Rāma. And what was the outcome? Bharata did not accept their behest. It is clear that the 'Rājakartārah' had not the final say in the selection of the king, though in ordinary and peaceful times they could select the king, as in the case of Amśumanta[4] We may well agree with Dr. A. S. Altekar, when he says that the 'Rājakartāraḥ' described in the Rāmāyana were not the electors of the king but they were the Brāhmanas, required for the observance of his coronation ceremonies[5]. The names of these Brāhmanas we have already mentioned[6]. If, however, we take in account the authority of the Rāmāyana alone, it would be impossible to say as to who were the dignitaries that constituted the full list of the 'Rājakartārah.' The above discussion, however, should not lead anyone to believe that the 'Rājakartārah'

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1 निश्चित्य सचिवैः सार्धं यौवराज्यममन्यत । VR II. 1.42

2 Ibid II Ch 67

3 Ibid II 79.1-3

4. कालधर्मं गते राम सगरे प्रकृतीजनाः ।
राजान रोचयामासुरंशुमन्त सुधार्मिकम् ॥ Ibid I. 42. 1.

5. State and Government P 52, Dr Raychaudhuri is also of the same opinion, when he says that "those who aided in the consecration of the king were called Rājakartṛi or Rājakṛits, i.e. 'King Makers'. P. 163

6 See ante. Page 305.

were only a decorative and ceremonial institution of the realm. While suggesting that their choice about either selecting or electing the crown-prince or the king was not mandatory, it cannot be said that it was only recommendatory either. Theirs' it was the right to give the final assent and say 'no objection' to the choice of the new incumbents to the throne, who automatically appeared on the scene through the law of primogeniture. This is well supported by the Mahāgovinda Jātaka of the Dīgha Nikāya,[1] which speaks of prince Renu, who was the son of king Disampati, as the likely choice to be made for the throne by the 'Rājakartrins'. We may conclude in agreement with the view[2] that "the character of ancient Indian monarchy was thus both hereditary and elective. It was elective in the sense that the people acquiesced in the choice"

The Paura-Jānapada

The term 'Paura-Jānapada' has also been one of controversy amongst Indologists The central point of the controversy is that Dr Jayaswal[3], Dr. Dikshitar[4], or those of their school take the term Paura-Jānapada as meaning the twin corporate and sovereign assemblies of the capital and the countryside, while Dr N. N. Law[5], Dr. A S. Altekar[6], or those who follow them, accept it as meaning only the people of the capital and the countryside. It is evident there is no difference of opinion as regards the word-meanings of 'Paura' and 'Jānapada', which Dr Jayaswal translated through the help of many original sources as the 'Capital' and the 'country' respectively[7]. The mention in the Rāmāyana of the 'foremost of the Paura-Jānapadas', the Naigamas, and the Ganas[1] in one and the same reference is quite significant Not the least of doubt is there

1 Sarnath Hindi Edition, P 170
2. V R R Dikshitar, HAI P 71, Refer also to Hopkins, JAOS XIII. PP 139-145
3. Hindu Polity, P 245
4. HAI. P 144
5. IHQ II Nos 2 and 3
6. State And Govt PP 102ff
7. Hindu Polity P 239

that the 'Naigamas' and the 'Ganas, refer to corporate bodies and if the Paura-Jānapada is bracketed with them, this may also mean the 'corporate assembly of the capital and the country.' In fact, when the people of the capital and the kingdom are described in general, they have been referred to as 'Nāgarāḥ[2]', 'Paurāḥ[3]', or 'Jānapada-Mānavāh'[4] respectively. To say that the Paura-Jānapadas meant only the common people of the capital and the outlying portions of the kingdom is over-simplifying the issue. The existence of the Paura-Jānapadas as corporate bodies cannot be denied in the light of the fact that in the Rāmāyana they are almost always described to have been summoned along with the ministers, the Brāhmanas, the members of the Nigamas, and the Ganas in order to advise on important state business[5]. It is impossible to accept that the whole people of the capital as well as the country could be assembled for any serious thinking on any given matter of importance The reason why the Rāmāyana is not explicitly clear about the Paura-Jānapada as being political institutions seems to be that at the time of its composition, these bodies were still in their infancy and their constitution had not as yeat developed to be a clear-cut one However, the later evidence, which Dr. Jayaswal and Dr Dikshitar[6] have adduced in support of their theory about the existence of the Paura-Jānapada hardly leaves any doubt about their being actual political institutions in ancient India and it may be presumed that they existed in the Kośalan kingdom at least in the Mahājanapada-period, if not earlier.

Regarding the composition, character, and the powers of the Kośalan Paura-Jānapada, our knowledge is very meagre. Some light is thrown from the Kūtadanta Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya.[7]

1 पौरजानपदश्रेष्ठा नैगमाश्च गणै· सह ।
एते चान्ये च बहव प्रीयमाणा प्रियवदा: ॥ VR. II 14.41.

2 VR II 36.20.

3 Ibid II. 46.30

4 Ibid. II. 1.51

5 Ibid II Chs. 2 and 54

6 HAI. P. 144.

7 Bombay Uni. Publication, Pt. I. P. 154.

Dr. Jayaswal seems to be right in accepting that the term 'Naigama' stands there for 'Paura'. 'Nigama' meant an 'association of the merchants', whose members must have been Vaiśyas. There in the Kūtadanta Sutta, the members of the 'Naigama-Jānapada' hail from all the four Varnas and it is obvious that the reference is to the Paura-Jānapada. That corporate body comprised, according to the above Sutta, of the Kṣatriyas, the wealthy Brāhmaṇas, and the Gṛhapatis, that is, the Vaiśyas. It cannot be claimed that the Gṛhapatis included the Śūdras also, as Dr. Jayaswal did[1], since the term is almost exclusively used for the Vaiśyas alone in the Buddhist literature[2]. It is evident that only the propertied classes had their representation in the Paura-Jānapada and so it was not fully representative Further, to say that the Jānapada was 'a sovereign assembly of the realm'[3] is reading too much in it, or even in the Paura-Jānapada taken together. The Rāmāyaṇa clearly states that when king Daśaratha decided on the advice of his ministers to appoint Rāma as the crown-prince, he referred the matter to the 'whole Pariṣad',[4] which included, besides the Paura-Jānapada, the Brāhmaṇas and the 'Janamukhyas', who were probably the chief officers of the state. The conference, which king Daśaratha invited, has to be considered in the light of the circumstances prevailing at the time, viz his promise to Kaikeyī that her son would be made the king, the absence of Bharata from the capital, and the possibility of some opposition to the appointment of Rāma as the crown-prince by the known or unknown supporters of Bharata's claim etc. The king, while wishing to take advantage of Bharata's absence, thought it prudent to take into confidence all the important sections of his subjects in order to stifle down any possible resentment and opposition. He wanted to enlist popular support for Rāma through this method. Taking such a historical perspective, no case can be made about

1 Op Cit P. 273.

2. Refer to Anāthapiṇḍika Gṛhapati in SN. (Sarnath Hindi Ed.), Vol. I.P. 223.

3 Dikshitar, HAI. P 144.

4. ततः परिषद सर्वामामन्त्र्य वसुधाधिपः। VR. II. 2.1.

the sovereign character of the Paura-Jānapada and it would be wholly wide of the mark to accept, as Dr. Jayaswal opined, that the assembly of the Paura nominated the successor to the throne[1]. If such was the authority of the Paura-Jānapada, why, it may be asked, no case of succession to the throne other than that of Rāma is known to have been referred to it for decision from any literary piece of India? What seems to be true is that only disputed successions were referred to the Paura-Jānapada, if there was such a course to be followed at all. It is evident that the Paura-Jānapada assemblies, inspite of their existence at the centre as important institutions, had very little power. They were there for representing their own cases and ventilating their grievances and were not allowed to take any direct part in important decisions and executive functions

The Ministry

A council of ministers as an advisory body was always present in all the ancient Indian kingdoms and Kosala was no exception The Rāmāyana[2] distinguishes between the ministers proper and the Pariṣad, which was a large assembly of advisors and can be designated as the privy-council. Pāṇini also differentiates between the council of ministers[3] and the Rājasabhā[4], i.e., the privy-council. The ministers have been variously designated in the Rāmāyana, viz. Amātya[5], Sachiva[6], and Mantrin[7] In the reign of Daśaratha the number in the council of ministers was eight[8] and those very eight names have been given as those of the ministers in the days of Rāma as well[9]. It is not improbable that

1. Op Cit P. 279
2. ऊचुस्ते वचनमिद निशम्य हृष्टाः सामात्या सपरिषदो वियातशोका ॥ VR. II 79 17
3. 5 2 112.
4. सभा राजा मनुष्यपूर्वा । 2 4 23
5. VR I. 7 1.
6. Ibid. I. 8.21.
7. Ibid. I 7. 4
8. Ibid. I. 7.3
9. Ibid VI. 130 10-11.

the same set of eight[1] ministers might have held ministerships at least for some days in both the reigns-proabbly in the last phase of the reign of Daśaratha and the beginning of Rāma's rule. This list of the ministers' names, as given by the Rāmāyana, is considerably corroborated by the Agni Purāna[2], except in some slight variations in the names of two It has to be noted here that Vasistha is not named in the list of the ministers, though he was the foremost amongst the advisors of Daśaratha Vālmīki lists his name as well as that of Vāmadeva as the two foremost 'Ritvijas'[3], i.e., the Brāhmanas responsible for planning, preparation, and execution of sacrifices Vasistha was the Rājapurohita,[4] 'par-excellence' and he must have presided over the religious affairs of the household Later, in the Magadhan state of the Mauryas the Purohita was one of the members of the ministry[5] and it is not improbable that such also might have been the case in the Kośalan state of Ayodhyā and Śrāvastī In fact, the Agni Purāna counts Vasistha as one of the ministers and lists him as the ninth one of the Council[6] The ministerships continued in the administrative set-up of the Kośalan kingdom till the last days of its history Several ministers, including the Purohita, of Prasenajita[7] have been mentioned in the Buddhist literature

The number of the ministers in the Kosalan kingdom does not seem to have been fixed for all times and it may be presumed that it could be changed in the light of circumstances and according

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1 धृष्टिर्जयन्तोविजय. सिद्धार्थो ह्यर्थमाधक ।
अशोको मन्त्रपालश्च सुमन्त्रश्चाष्टमोऽभवत् ॥
VR I 7 3 and VI 130.10-11

2 Anandasram Sans Series, Poona, Ch. 6 VS 4

3. ऋत्विजौ द्वाभिमतौ तस्यास्तामृषिसत्तमौ ।
वसिष्ठो वामदेवश्च मन्त्रिणश्च तथापरे । VR. I 7.4

4, वसिष्ठमेवाभिमुखाःश्रेष्ठ राजपुरोहितम् ॥ Ibid II 67. 4

5. Arthaśāstra. I. 9.15.

6. Op. Cit Ch. 6 VS 4

7 Cf. Santati and Ārohanta DPPN II P 1023 and I P 288, Sirivaddha (Śrīvardha), Majjhima (PIS) II. P. 112.

to needs. In the Jātaka-period the number of the ministers was ordinarily five[1]. Vālmīki enjoins that this number should be neither so small as to be reduced to one nor very great[2]. The kings were expected not to decide singly[3] and it was deemed proper for the king to consult with either three or four[4]. The real aim was to fully take into account the alround worth of the ministers before fixing their numbers. Even one minister, who possessed brilliancy, valour, skill, and wisdom, could help a king achieve great glory, greatness, and splendour[5]. According to the Rāmāyana, the ministers should be well-versed in scholarship, should be valiant, controlled of their emotions, born of high families, and capable of understanding others' minds[6]. Right counsel from such ministers was deemed to be the root cause of the success of the kings[7]. Only those ministers, who were capable of maintaining secrecy about counsel, were the real saviours of kings[8]. In fact, the maintenance of secrecy is very much emphasized by Vālmiki[9], and what that poet said about the number of the ministers or the secrecy to be kept by them is well seconded by the Mahābhārata and the Purānas[10]. It was a rule that once a decision was arrived at, it was at once put into practice and before its execution

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1 Jātaka No 528 (Cowell's Eng Ed), Vol V 117

2 कच्चिन्मन्त्रयसे नैक कच्चिन्न बहुभि सह । VR. II 100 18

3 मन्त्रो विजयमूल हि राज्ञा भवति राघव ।
सुसवृत्तो मन्त्रधरैरमात्यै शास्त्रकोविदै. ॥ Ibid II 100 16

4 मन्त्रिभिस्त्व यथोदिष्टैश्चतुर्भिस्त्रिभिरेव वा ।
कच्चित्समस्तैर्व्यस्तैर्वा मन्त्र मन्त्रयसे मिथः ॥ Ibid II. 100.71

5 एकोऽप्यमात्यो मेधावी शूरो दक्षो विचक्षण ।
राजान राजपुत्र वा प्रापयेन्महती श्रियम् ॥ Ibid. II. 100 24

6 कच्चिदात्मसमा. शूरा श्रुतवन्तो विजितेन्द्रियाः ।
कुलीनाश्चेगितज्ञाश्च कृतास्ते तात मन्त्रिणः । Ibid II. 100 15

7 मन्त्रो विजयमूल हि राज्ञां भवति राघव । Ibid. II 100 16

8. सुसवृत्तो मन्त्रधरैरमात्यै शास्त्रकोविदैः ॥ Ibid. II 100.16

9 कच्चित्ते मन्त्रितो मन्त्रो राष्ट्र न परिधावति ॥ VR. II. 100.18.

10. Cf. N. N. Law, Some Aspects. P. 31.

nothing was allowed to get public[1]. Indeed, the value of the ministers' advice was so great that the whole prosperity of the people was deemed to be dependent on it. Rāma's question to Bharata[2] regarding the fact whether the latter observed the injunctions, as described above, implied that they served as ideals to be followed by the Kośalan kings. It was the duty of the ministers to check the rulers from adopting bad courses of action and it is said about the ministers of Rāvana that they ought to be killed, if they failed in giving proper advice to him[3].

The powers and privileges of the ministers were very wide. Their powers of decision about state-matters have been often referred to by Vālmiki Viśwāmitra, while requesting King Daśaratha for the loan of Rāma in order that he might exterminate the Rāksasas, said that he could be given to him if the royal ministers allowed the same[4] When king Daśaratha desired that Rāma should be made the crown-prince, he atonce tried to be in the know of the ministers' opinion[5]. He also sought their advice, when there was a desire on his part to perform an Aśvamedha Sacrifice[6] Likewise, Rāma invited a meeting of his ministers to consider the causes of the premature demise of a Brāhmana's son[7]. In later days, Prasenajita never embarked on any new initiative before he had received the advice of his ministers, Śrīvriddha and Mrigadhara[8] It is clear, no important decisions could be taken without the conjoint agreement of the ministers and the

1. VR II 100 19-21
2. VR II Ch 100 (Kachchitsarga).
3. वध्या. खलु न हन्यन्ते सचिवास्तव रावण ।
   ये त्वामुत्पथमारुढ न निगृह्णन्ति सर्वशः ॥ Ibid III 41 6
4. स्थिरमिच्छसि राजेन्द्र राम मे दातुमर्हसि ।
   यद्यभ्यनुज्ञा काकुत्स्थ ददते तव मन्त्रिण ॥ Ibid I. 19 16
5. Ibid II Ch 1
6. स निश्चितां मतिं कृत्वा यष्टव्यमिति बुद्धिमान् ।
   मन्त्रिभिः सह धर्मात्मा सर्वैरेवकृतात्मभिः ॥ Ibid 1 8 3
7. Ibid. VII 74.6
8. Hoernle, Uvāsaga-dasāo, II. Appendix, P. 56.

king. The king could take initiative, whenever he liked, but he must have the confidence of the ministers on almost all state-matters. Though he was the authority, who appointed the ministers, yet it was the authority and privilege of the ministers to aid, advise, and agree or disagree with the king. The council of ministers was a constitutionally accepted political institution and its place in the political set-up commanded a great deal of prestige. It was its duty to formulate state-policies and to supervise their execution. The ministers also presided over all the functions of the state in times of temporary absence of kings[1].

There seems to have been a president of the council of ministers, generally designated as the Chief-Minister, whose services in the days of Prasenajita were worth one hundred thousand in gold alone, to say nothing of silver[2] There were different portfolios allotted to the various ministers Sūta was the minister in charge of the Chariot services. His was a post dating back from the earliest days of Indian history and is mentioned in the older literary pieces of our land[3]. That position was brilliantly filled in by Sumantra[4] in the days of Daśaratha and Rāma He was not only a minister but the chief charioteer as well[5]. Besides this, Sumantra seems also to have been the chief of the Chamberlains, for whom the gates of the royal palaces ever remained open[6]. The ministers had sometimes to perform military duties in addition to their normal functions of supervising the work of their respective departments Santati was one such minister, who is said to have been once given the kingdom itself by his master,

1 मन्त्रिष्वावाय तद्राज्य गगावतरणे रतः ।
सतपोदीर्घमातिष्ठद्गोकर्णे रघुनन्दन ॥ VR 1 42 12

2 DPPN I PP 332-3

3 Taitt Samh I 8.9. 1ff, Taitt Brāh. I 7 3 1ff, Śat Brā V 3 1 1ff
The Sūta has been variously explained as the 'royal equerry' by N. N. Law (Some Aspects. P. 87); and the 'Court-ministrel and Chronicler' by K. P. Jayaswal (Hindu Polity P 202) and V. R. R. Dikshitar (HAI. P. 83)

4. VR. II. 35.3.

5. Ibid. II, Ch 39

6 Ibid. II. 15.19-20

Prasenajita, because he had been able to quell a frontier disturbance[1]. Kāla was the finance-minister of Prasenajita, who was very conscientiously "grieved, when the king spent his fortune in giving alms to the Buddha and his monks at the Asadisadāna[2]" (incomparable alms-giving). That he was dismissed from his post for having entertained such thoughts, as the Buddhist canon says[3], should be taken with a grain of salt. There seems to have been sometimes a lack of proper understanding between various minissters. One of the Jātakas is based on the quarrelsome ministers of Kośala[4] It is very probable that in the days of Kośalan decline, the kings were unable to keep their ministers under proper checks and the result was the growth of mutual acrimony.

Vālmīki refers to the meetings of an institution, styled as 'Parisad[5]'. The Pariṣad was something like a privy-council, whose sittings were often held to consider important matters of state. It was like the Vedic Samiti[6], which was a general assembly of advisors. On the authority of Manu and Vasistha, Dr V R.R Dikshitar has opined that the Parisad was "an assembly of learned men to decide legal points and customs of the land[7]". Pānini[8] in his Astādhyāyī designated the same as Sabhā or Rājasabhā, which, according to N N Law[9], might be "a law court, the royal court or the convivial assembly" By 'Sabhā' was meant firstly the group of members sitting and secondly the place where they assembled[10] The privy-council was a big body and had

The Pariṣad

1 DPPN II P 1023
2 Ibid I P. 572.
3 Sumangalavilāsinī PTS II, PP 654ff, Dhammapadatthakathā, PTS. III, PP 166-8
4. Kachchapa Jātaka, Fausboll's Ed Vol II, P. 359, DPPN I P 481
5. VR II Ch 2 and II 111 5
6 Dikshitar HAI P 156.
7 HAI P 156
8 सभा राजामनुष्यपूर्वा । 2 4.23
9. Some Aspects of Ant Ind. Polity. P. 26.
10. Vedic Index II. P. 426

its origin in conventions and tradition. Its number and composition was neither fixed nor its sittings were regular. Anybody, thought to be fit to offer advice to the king on specific matters, could be invited to its meetings and could take a seat in it. It seems the wise people of the realm, specially the Brāhmaṇas, dominated its proceedings, but at the same time it would be wrong to suggest that they were the only people, who were represented in it. It would not be wide of the mark here to bring in the testimony of the Mahābhārata[1], which expressly enjoins that the Privy-Council should consist of all the four Varnas and it is quite probable that the Kośalan Parisad also comprised of all the classes. When king Daśaratha wished to initiate the Vājimedha sacrifice in order to have a son, he invited only the Brāhmanas, who were very well versed in the vedas[2]. But on another occasion, when the question of Rāma's appointment as crown-prince had to be discussed, the Parisad contained the citizens of so many cities and the people of villages[3], the vassal kings[4], the Brāhmanas[5], the chief officers of the state[6], and the members of the Paura and the Jānapada assemblies[7]. All these people, it is certain, must not have hailed from the upper Varnas alone and they included the Vaisyas and Śūdras as well. The question is hardly left in any doubt, when we are told that in order to witness the proof of Sītā's purity the assembled people included, besides the eminent Brāhmanas, "the very valiant Rāksasas, the powerful monkeys, great Risis, saints, and thousands of Ksatriyas, Vaiśyas

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1 XII. 85 7-9.

2 तत्र सुमन्त्रस्त्वरित गत्वा त्वरितविक्रम ।
समानयत्सतान्सर्वान्समस्तान्वेदपारगान् ॥ VR I 8 5

3 नानानगरवास्तव्यान् पृथग्जानपदानपि Ibid II 1 46

4 समानिनायमेदिन्या प्रधानान् पृथिवीपति· Ibid.

5 तस्यधर्मार्थविदुषो भावमाज्ञाय सर्वश. ।
ब्राह्मणा जनमुख्याश्च पौरजानपदै सह ॥ Ibid II. 2 19.

6 Ibid.

7 Ibid

and Śūdras[1]". "The inference is irresistible that the Śūdra worked side by side with the Brāhmanas in guiding the ship of the state during the storm and stress, which were a frequently occurring factor in ancient times[2]". It is evident here that the function of the Pariṣad was a judicial one but to assume, as Dr. V.R.R. Dikshitar did[3], that "its political function amounted to judicial matters only" does not conform to the facts, as described above. It cannot be said that the function of the Privy-councillors was only to watch and witness important state proceedings. Very often they were called upon to advise on state-matters and the king after being fortified with their confidence, could fearlessly launch upon new schemes But in the meetings themselves it were mostly the wise Brāhmanas, the saints, and the Risis, who contributed most to the proceedings. They have been styled as 'Versed in the Vedas[4]', 'Guru[5]', 'Dvija[6]' 'Ritvija[7]' and 'Brāhmanas'[8]. On many an occasion, the ministers also attended the meetings of the Privy-Council[9]. It is possible that a small section of the Privy-Council was always present in the court and the king

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1 एते चान्ये च बहवो मुनयः सशितव्रता. ।
कौतूहलसमाविष्टा सर्वं एव समागता ॥
राक्षसाश्च महावीर्या वानराश्चमहाबला ।
सर्वं एव समाजग्मुर्महात्मान कुतूहलात् ॥
क्षत्रिया ये च शूद्राश्चवैश्याश्चैव सहस्रश. ।
नानादेशागताश्चैव ब्राह्मणाः सशितव्रता ॥ Ibid VII 96 6-8

2 Dikshitar HAI P 148

3 Ibid

4. समस्तान्वेदपारगान् । VR. I.8. 5.

5 शीघ्रमानय मे सर्वान्गुरूस्तान्सपुरोहितान् । Ibid. I. 8 4.

6. ततो द्विजास्ते धर्मज्ञमस्तुवन् पार्थिवर्षभम् । Ibid. I 12.21·

7. सुमन्त्रावाहय क्षिप्रमृत्विजो ब्रह्मवादिनः ।
सुयज्ञ वामदेव च जाबालिमथ काश्यपम् ॥ Ibid. I. 12.5.

8. तेषा तद्वचन श्रुत्वा वसिष्ठ· प्रत्युवाच ह ।
मित्रामात्यगणान् सर्वान् ब्राह्मणांस्तानिद वच ॥ Ibid. II. 68.1.

9 Ibid. II. Ch 2

had always the advantage of seeking its advice, alongwith those of the ministers, in matters of justice and executive functions. It is very likely that king Prasenajita complained to the Buddha against this very section of the Privy-Council.[1] While commending the sense of perfect discipline in the Buddhist assemblies, he himself bemoaned, "and now honourable sir ! I am a consecrated king having the powers to execute those, who deserve it, and extern from my kingdom those, who deserve it either. But I am very much disturbed, while sitting for the execution of my royal duties because of whisperings etc. and I am not able to work[2]". Though Prasenajita did not mention his council expressly, his reference to the Buddhist Parisad is very significant and it is clear that he drew out a comparison between the two. It is quite possible that he had partially lost his control of the Privy-council and there was a lack of order in it

The qualifications of a Sabhā are admirably described almost in identical words in the Rāmāyana[3] and one of the Buddhist Jātakas[4] It is said that it is not a 'Sabhā', where there are no good or old people and those are not good people, who do not speak out 'Dharma' Those, who, keeping away their own attachments and weaknesses, speak out Dharma, i.e., the just thing, are good people. Dharma itself cannot be devoid of truth and it is no truth, which is penetrated by cleverness.

Household Officials

The prime position of honour amongst the household officers went to the Purohita, i e., the, chaplain. The office of the Purohita dated back from the early Vedic times He was counted amongst the various

Purohita

1 MN (Sarnath Hindi Ed.), P 365

2 Ibid

3 न सा सभा यत्र न सन्ति वृद्धा न ते वृद्धा ये न वदन्ति धर्मम् ।
नासौ धर्मो यत्र न सत्यमस्ति न तत्सत्य यच्छलेनानुविद्धम् ॥
VR VII 3.33

4 न सा सभा यत्थ न सति संतो म ते संतो ये न भणन्तिधम्म
रागं च दोस च पहाय मोह धम्म भणन्ता व भेवन्सि संतो ॥
Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed.) Vol. V.P. 509.

Ratnins[1] and was consecrated with the Brihaspatisava, ie., the Brihaspati sacrifice, on the occasion of his initiation into office[2]. Kauṭilya points out that only the Mantri, i.e., chief minister excelled the Purohita in importance[3]. According to N. N. Law, his office was distinct from that of the Ritvija[4] He was the royal official, who planned and performed the sacrifices on behalf of the sovereign, and acted as his advisor on all religious matters[5]. The Purohita had to sometimes accompany the king to the battlefield, where he encouraged the army "by quoting vedic authority as to the final goal of brave men in the field[6]". We come across an interesting story in this connection about the mutual quarrel of king Trayyāruna Traidhātva Aiksvāka with his purohita Vrisa Jāna, who was driving the royal chariot and, on account of the excessive speed, killed a Brāhmana boy[7]. The incident is reminiscent of the militant element being present in the Purohita in the early days of the history of Kośala According to Dharmasūtras, the Purohita had to try sometimes certain cases of spiritual jurisdiction and as such he was enjoined to be 'learned in the law and science of government[8] and also in the Vedas and Itihāsa[9] But, as mentioned above, the chief functions of the Purohita were undoubtedly religious and he was in charge of general supervision of religious, ritualistic, and ceremonial functions of the royal household. Despite the fact that on almost all important matters of state the advice of the royal priest, Vasiṣṭha, was sought for[10]

1 Śat Brā V 3 1 , Taitt Brā 1 7 3, and Taitt Sam I 8 9

2 AV 24 1

3 Arthaśāstra V. 3 4

4 Some Aspects of Ant Ind Polity, P 38 , But, according to Diskhitar, the Purohita acted as the Brāhmana Ritvik (HA1 P 115)

5 V1 I P 113

6 वेदेष्वप्यनुश्रूयते समाप्तदक्षिणानां यज्ञानामवभृथेषु ॥
सा ते गतिर्याशूराणामिति ॥ Arthaśāstra, BK X 3 32-33.

7 Pāñchavimśa Brāhmana, XII 3.12.

8. राजा पुरोहित धर्मार्थशास्त्रकुशलम् etc Āpastamba II 5 10. 13-14

9 वेदेतिहासधर्मशास्त्रार्थकुशल कुलीनमव्यगतपस्विन पुरोहितं च वरयेत् ।
Viṣnu Dharmasūtra, III 70

10. VR. II 67 4ff

and often accepted, his chief duties were religious and sacramental. We find him conducting the Putreṣṭi sacrifice for Daśaratha[1] and initiating the royal princes into various Samsakāras[2]. He headed the list of eminent Brāhmaṇas, who were charged with the preparations of Rāma's coronation[3]. Besides, the Purohita also acted as the Guru and Āchārya of the royal princes[4]. In Buddhistic times also the position of the Purohita did neither fall into abeyance nor its prestige waned. In the Mahāgovinda Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya[5], the Purohita, Govinda, has been addressed by the king Renu as his father. The Purohita claims for himself the position of a king over kings, the best Brāhmana of the Brāhmanas, and a deity to the ordinary householders[6]. According to Vrihaspati also, the chief minister and the Purohita were equal to the mother and the father[7].

Purohitaship in the Kośalan kingdom seems to have been confined to only one family, viz. to that of the Brāhmanas of Vasistha Gotra This is evident from the fact that the name Vasistha has been applied to all the family-priests of the Kośalan kings, right from Vikuksi to Rāma[8]. It is impossible to accept, as the orthodox tradition does, that only one man continued for all the intervening generations. Vasiṣtha was a common family name.

Sthapati

The chamberlain or the enquerry was called the 'Sthapati' (Thapati of Pāli) and was incharge of the royal harem. He was also called the chhattri or chhattā[9]. His duty was to look after the ladies of the royal

1 Ibid. I. Ch 8
2 Ibid I 18. 21-24
3. Ibid. II Ch 3
4 Cf. N N Law Some Aspects. P. 47
5 Bombay Uni Pub. Pt II PP. 168ff.
6. अह हि भो एतरहि राजा च रञ्ज ब्रह्मा च ब्राह्मणानं देवता च गहपतिकानं etc. Ibid P 184.
7 Vrihaspati quoted by Dikshitar, HA1. P. 128.
8 Viṣṇu IV. 2 17; again IV. 4.45ff., VR II Chs 2ff.
9. V1. II. P 200; Pāyāsirājañña Sutta, DN. (Sarnath Hindi Ed.) P. 199. Sthapati also means a carpenter, an architect, or a mason.

household. He accompanied them, when they went aparking[1]. Iṣidatta and Purāṇa were two of such Prasenajita's chamberlains, who, on account of their too much contact and nearness to the ladies, had been sometimes under the influence of evil thoughts about them and they confessed the same to the Buddha[2]. Prasenajita once said to the Buddha that Isidatta was a Kośalan noble of about his own age[3] and evidently the latter seems to have been sufficiently advanced in years. The Rāmāyana speaks of yellow-robed and well-ornamented old people guarding the entrances to the private chambers of the royal palace with cane-sticks in their hands[4]. The chamberlain's function, it is clear, was to regulate the entrance of persons going to the inner apartments of the king's harem They kept guard over and maintained the privacy of the female apartments of the palace. This seems to be the reason why the chamberlains have been styled as 'Stryadhyaksas[5].'

Pratihāra

The Pratihāra[6] was the gate-keeper of the royal palace. He was also styled as Dvārādhyaksa[7] or Dovārika[8] Pānini and Kautilya refer to him as an important officer[9] His duties were practically the same in regard to the royal court and the male apartments of the palace as those of the chamberlain for the female reserves It is suggested by the Rāmāyana that the Pratihāra could very easily check even great personalities from entering the court, e.g , Daśaratha was checked from entering the court of Janaka[10] and that noted Risi, Durvāsā, the very embodiment of anger, was checked by Laksamana (doing the work of a

1 DPPN I P 320
2 Ibid.
3. Ibid I P 1139
4 तत्रकाषायिणो वृद्धान् वेत्रपाणीन् स्वलकृतान् ।
ददर्शनिष्ठितान्द्वारि स्त्रयध्यक्षान्सुसमाहितान् ॥ VR. II 16.3.
5 Ibid.
6. Ibid II 10.21
7. Ibid I 18. 38.
8. Mahāpingala Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed.) Vol. II. P. 241.
9 Aṣṭādhyāyī, 7.3.4 ; Arthaśāstra, V. 3.7.
10 VR. I. 73 14

Pratihāra) from entering the court of Rāma, when he was engaged in a conference with Yama[1]. It seems, however, that the position of the Pratihāra was not as important as that of the Sthapati or the Chhatri.

The palace absorbed a considerable number of servants, both male and female, whose it was the duty to serve the royal personages. While Sītā was given in marriage to Rāma by Janaka, the king of Mithilā, he also sent in her service many efficient servants—both male and female, called Dāsas and Dāsīs[2]. These slaves came generally from the Śūdra fold but their condition in matters of treatment was certainly better than their counterparts in Greece. Unlike the healots, the Dāsas of India could ameliorate their condition. Some people took to serving others as a matter of profession and they were generally those, who were born in the Dāsa families. The Buddhist canon[3] speaks of 'Kammakaras', i.e, 'performers of service' They were the family-servants and later came to be united into a caste, 'Kamakara', which is still found in large numbers in the eastern parts of Uttar Pradesh. They formed the Śūdra class.

Household servants

The servants of the royal household included the 'Sūtas', the 'Māgadhas', and the 'Vandins' also, who were the praise-singers of the king and the crown-prince. They daily sang the praises of these royal personages, especially when it was their time to wake up from the bed[4]. One of the Jātakas informs us[5] that

1. Ibid VII 103.14 and 105 4.
2 ददौ कन्याशत तासा दासदासीमनुत्तमाम् । Ibid, I 74 6
3 ये पिस्स अहेसु दासाति वा पेस्साति वा कम्मकरातिवा तेपि न दण्डतज्जिता न भयवज्जिता etc. Kūtadanta Sutta. DN (Bombay Uni. Pub.), Pt I. P 161.
4 तत्र श्रुणुवन् सुखा वाच. सूतमागधवन्दिनाम् ।
पूर्वां सध्यामुपासीनो जजाप यतमानस: ॥ VR. II. 6.6.
5. अरुणागमनवेलया ब्राह्मणा आगन्त्वा राजानं सुखसयित्तु पुच्छिसु ।
Lohakumbhī Jātaka, Fausboll's Ed. III P 43.

some Brāhmaṇas were employed in Kośala, whose it was the duty to present themselves before royal presence on each morning and to enquire whether the king had enjoyed sound and peaceful sleep.

The Sarvārthakamahāmātya (Sabhāthakamahāmacca of the Pāli literature) is not specifically mentioned in the service of any of the Kośalan kings. But Bimbisāra of Magadha has been referred to have employed the 'Sabhāthakamahāmacca[1]' and it may be presumed that his contemporaries in Kośala might have had such officers in their service. As the name suggests, the Sarvārthaka Mahāmātya was the private Secretary to the king, who kept his time and engagements. His duties must have been of a miscellaneous type as the term 'Sarvārthaka' implies. Dr. Fick identified the duties of this officer with that of the 'atthadhammānusāsaka amacca', i.e., the minister incharge of the temporal and spiritual matters of the state[2], who was versed in all the branches of public life. We know nothing more than this general nature of the functions of this officer and the lack of information precludes us to be definite about his position

Sarvārthaka Mahāmātya

1. Vinayapiṭaka, Sarnath (Hindi) Ed. P. 224.
2. Soc. Org. P 145.

CHAPTER IX

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION

Central Administration

The central administration was carried on by various departments under experienced heads. It is quite interesting that the Rāmāyana[1], like the Arthaśāstra of Kautilya, makes a mention of the eighteen Tīrthas, the designations of whose heads in many cases are identical. It seems that "this recognition of eighteen Tīrthas in a state is traditional and appears to be of very early origin[2]". The Tīrthas are not specifically named in the Rāmāyana but its commentaries, while explaining the relevant references, do name them, and they are as follows[3] :—

(i) Mantri-Councillor
(ii) Purohita-Royal priest and the teacher
(iii) Yuvarāja—Crown-prince
(iv) Senāpati—Commander-in-chief of the army
(v) Dauvārika—Chamberlain
(vi) Antahpurādhikrita—Superintendent of the ladies' apartments[4]
(vii) Bandhanāgārādhikrita—Overseer of prisons
(viii) Dhanādhyaksa—Treasurer
(ix) Rājājñayā Ājñāpyeṣu Vaktā—Proclaimer of the Royal orders
(x) Prādavivākasamjño Vyavahāraprașṭā—Judicial officer designated as Prādvivāka

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1 कच्चिदष्टादशान्येषु स्वपक्षे दशपञ्च च।
त्रिभिस्त्रिभिरविज्ञातैर्वेत्सि तीर्थानि चारणै.॥
VR. II 100 36 The eighteen Tirthas are also mentioned in Mbh. II. 5.38, Pañchatantra, III. 67-70 (Keilhorn's Ed.); Raghuvaṁśa, XVII. 68; and Śiśupālavadha, XIV. 9.

2. Law· Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity, P. 84.

3. Cf. Ibid. Footnote 3.

4. For some of the translations, the present author is indebted to N. N. Law, Op. Cit. P. 85.

(xi) Dharmāsanādhikṛta—Chief justice of the civil court
(xii) Vyavahāranirṇetā Sabhyākhya—The officer named Sabhya, who decided about law
(xiii) Senāyājīvitabhṛtidānādhyaksa—The officer, who looked after the supplies for the maintenance of the army
(xiv) Karmante Vetanagrāhīna—The officer, who accepted the pay for those engaged in industries
(xv) Nagarādhyaksa—the Chief of the city, probably the capital
(xvi) Rāstrāntapāla or Ātavika—Protector of the frontiers or of the forests
(xvii) Dustānām Dandanādikārī—The officer in charge of the punishment of the offenders
(xviii) Jalagirivanasthala Durgapāla—The officer in charge of the water, mountain, forest, and land forts

Some of the above officers are mentioned in the Rāmāyana separately as well, e.g., the Dhanādhyaksa[1], the Balādhyaksa[2], and the Antapāla[3], i.e., the Rāstrāntapāla. As N. N. Law points out[4], some of these officers existed perhaps even in the Vedic period.

Apart from the above, our knowledge about the central administrative set-up of Kośala is practically nil. It may be recognised that in those days of early Indian history, the organisation of administration was on a limited scale and a policy of least interference with the people was pursued. The kingdom-Janapada[5], as it was called, was presided over by the king with the aid of some officers, who were totally responsible to him and acted individually in their respective charges. It seems the central officers were responsible for the administration of the whole of the kingdom, its territory being not very extensive, except when

1. उवाचेदं धनाध्यक्षं धनमानीयतामिति । VR. II. 32. 27
2. ताः प्रहृष्टाः प्रकृतयो बलाध्यक्षा बलस्य च । Ibid. II. 82.24
3. अन्तपालाश्च यास्यति सदारो यत्र राघव । Ibid. II. 37.26.
4. Op. Cit. P. 87.
5. VR. II. 39.10.

large conquests were made by Chakravartins. Even then the nature of most of the conquests was that of 'Dharmavijaya', in which the conquered king was not uprooted and was allowed, after an acknowledgment of suzerainty, to carry on his own administration, unless otherwise called for

Provincial Administration

The discussion about Central Administration implies that there was very little of direct provincial administration in the Kośalan kingdom. Whatever it was, its character was mostly autonomous. We come to know from the Rāmāyana and other traditional sources that Rāma and his brothers conquered vast territories almost throughout the whole length and breadth of India, and Rāma in his very lifetime parcelled them out into so many principalities for the princes of his family, including his own sons. They, while ruling on his behalf in his lifetime, became independent after his death and proved to be originators of new-dynasties. The two sons of Bharata, Taksa and Puskala, were given charge of two principalities in the extreme north-west of the country. They ruled the Gandharvas (Gāndhāra) with Taksaśilā and Puskalāvatī (Puskarāvatī) as their administrative capitals respectively[1]. Angada and Chandraketu, the two sons of Laksamaṅa, were also established as rulers with Angadīyā and Chandrakāntā as their respective gubernatorial seats[2].

Furthermore, according to the Raghuvamśa[3], Rāma established[4] his own sons, Kuśa and Lava, in Kuśāvatī and Śarāvatī respectively. Though these princes were duly consecrated as full-fledged rulers[5], it is evident from the Rāmāyana that they ruled on behalf of Rāma as governors of the new conquered territories and were helped by Bharata and Laksamana[6].

1 VR VII 101 11
2 Ibid VII. 102.5-8 ; Raghuvamśa, XV.90
3 स निवेश्य कुशावत्या रिपुनागाङ्कुश कुशम् ।
शरावत्या सता सूक्तैर्जनिताश्रुलव लवम् ॥ Raghuvamśa, XV 97
4. VR VII 108.4, Vāyu 88.199-200 etc
5 VR. VII. 103 11
6 Ibid VII 102.12-14

Later in the days of the Buddha, Pāyāsi was allowed by Prasenajita to rule in an autonomous capacity at Setavyā as his sub-lord[1]. Kāśirāja, an uterine brother of the same monarch[2], was the autonomous ruler of Banaras, which then formed part of the Kośalan kingdom.

It is evident from the above that there was no direct provincial administration in the Kośalan State. Only when it grew into an empire, small sub-lords and vassals were allowed internal autonomy to rule over their respective territories. Sometimes their units were given over to them by the ruling sovereigns themselves.

Local administration

In ancient India cities and towns were built according to Śilpaśāstric plans[3]. Ayodhyā's plan of construction, vividly described in the Rāmāyana and other works, has already been discussed[4]. The architects had in their minds the city's safety from external danger as well as its internal beauty. It was very carefully built on an even ground[5] It may be doubted whether the dimensions of Ayodhyā, as described in the Rāmāyana, can be taken as true Even though they seem to be exaggerated, there is nothing to militate against the suggestion that it was a great city—probably the foremost and the first to be built in northern India, according to Indian tradition[6]. It was for a very long time the capital of a great kingdom, sometimes an empire, which produced great and renowned conquerors. It was, however, not the only city in the Kośalan kingdom. There were undoubtedly many more built

Municipal administration

1 Pāyāsi-Sutta, DN. (Bombay Uni Pub.), Vol II. P 231
2. See ante page 293
3. I.H Q. IV P. 102ff
4. See ante PP. 49-54. Mr E. W. Hopkins did not believe that the epic descriptions of the city held good in the regal period (as opposed to the imperial period) of Indian history Vide-JAOS. Vol VIII. p 175
5 गृहगाढामविच्छिद्रा समभूमौ निवेशिताम् ॥ Ibid I 5.17
6. अयोध्या नाम नगरी तत्रासील्लोकविश्रुता ।
मनुना मानवेन्द्रेण या पुरी निर्मिता स्वयम् ॥ Ibid I 5 6

on good models and with definite plans. Sāketa and Vārāṇasī were among the six great cities of India in the days of the Buddha[1]. The special requirements of the cities or the towns were always kept in view, while building them We are supplied with such information regarding a frontier town by the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya[2], which says that it should possess a very formidable base, should have a strong rampart, should be of only one gate, and should have a 'Dvārapāla', i e., a porter, expert in recognising men and differentiate between those to be allowed in and those to be checked from entering. The outer rampart should not have even a hole in it, which might allow even a cat to pass in.

Our information about municipal administration in Kośala is not very pointed and clear. The Rāmāyana speaks of Saṁghas[3] in the capital city of Ayodhyā. They enjoyed internal freedom to a considerable extent and were free to manage their professional affairs. The Samghas were probably the Śrenīs, i.e., guilds organized into associations of particular professions or sometimes of people engaged into various crafts and professions. The Jātakas mention only the "wood-makers, the smiths, the leather-dressers, the painters and the rest, experts in various crafts[4]." The associations of these crafts had their presidents called 'Jetthakas[5]', i.e, heads or the 'Pamukkhas', i e., chiefs. They are styled as 'Śrenīmukhyas' in the Rāmāyana[6]. There were great merchants in the cities called the 'Setthis' (Śresthīs of Sanskrit) They were, according to Mrs. Rhys Davids[7], heads "over some class of industry or trading." There must have been many such 'Seṭṭhis', 'Pamukkhas', or 'Jetthakas', in one city, according to the number of guilds based on various crafts or industries. In great cities like Śrāvastī,

1 DN (PTS), Vol II. P. 146
2 Sarnath Hindi Ed., P. 123
3 Ayodhyā has been described as वधूनाटकसंघैश्च सयुक्ता,
i e, possessing dramatic societies of women, VR I 5. 12
4 Cf CHI I.P 206.
5 Cf. Ibid. P. 206 and Local Govt -Mookerji, P. 47.
6. VR. VI. 130.17.
7. CHI.Vol I. p 207

these various heads of different professions sometimes quarrelled amongst themselves[1] and consequently some common chief of all these guilds or associations had to be appointed. Anāthapiṇḍika of Śrāvastī, the great benefactor of the Buddhist Samgha, was one such head of a guild. Besides, he has been called as Mahāsetthi in one of the Jātakas[2] and obviously he seems to have been the Chief of the Śrāvastī merchants and the common head of all the guilds of the Kośalan capital That he occupied such a position is further corroborated by the description that five hundred Setthis of that great city accompanied him in his presentation of the Jetavana to the Buddha[3] The Setthis commanded respect and obedience as leaders and heads of their professions and they must have enjoyed complete autonomy in their respective spheres. They also represented their callings at the king's court, whenever required. It is probable that, as in Magadha,[4] treasurers were appointed from the Setthi class in Kośala too. With them went the judgship of all the merchant-guilds.

The head of the city was an officer called 'Nagarādhyaksa', enumerated as one of the eighteen Tīrthas[5]. His was the duty probably to execute royal orders, to look to the maintenance of peace and order, and to co-ordinate the activities of the various departments of municipal administration. However, nothing specific is known about him to enable us to say anything definite about his office, privileges, and obligations

Village administration

The village was ever an important administrative unit in ancient India and to a very great extent formed the backbone of the whole administrative system of a kingdom. Often the kingdom was spoken of as a collection of villages, the number of which decided its greatness or otherwise. Like Bimbisāra, the Magadhan king, who was proud of the fact that he ruled over eighty thousand

1 Cf Local Government, Mookerji, P 76.
2 Ibid P. 46
3. Jātaka I (Fausboll's Ed.), P 93
4. Refer to Nigrodha Jātaka, Vol. IV (Fausboll's Ed.), PP 37ff
5. See ante P. 326.

villages and their headmen[1], the Kośalan monarchs must have counted on the number and prosperity of their villages. Villages were of several kinds[2], as nigamagāma, i.e., a village more or less like a town; Janapadagāma[3], i.e., an ordinary village of the countryside; Dvāragāma, i.e., a door-way village of the kingdom; and a pachchantagāma, i.e., a village on the frontiers. The peculiarities, avocations, and population of these various types of villages differed from each other. They were ordinarily situated in the midst of agricultural fields (khetta) and pastures, round which were the woodlands like the Andhavana[4] to the south of Śrāvastī; Kundadhānavana[5] near the Koliyan village of Kundiya; Keta-kavana[6] near Nālakapāna village, where the Buddha preached the Nālakapāna Jātaka; and many others These forests proved ideal abodes of safety for thieves sometimes, and once it so happened that they dared lay an ambush for Prasenajita in the Andhavana, while he was on his way to pay respects to the Buddha[7]. Fortunately for him, however, he was warned in time, the wood was surrounded, the thieves were captured and severely punished [8] Further, these forests were often dangerous for human beings to corss on account of fierce beasts—unless the travellers were in great numbers Still sometimes trade-routes passed through them and caravans of traders traversed them The agricultural fileds of the village lay without the clustered houses and went by the name 'gāmakhetta'. "Fences, snares and field-watchmen guarded the 'Khetta' or 'gāmakhetta' from intrusive beasts and birds while the internal boundaries of each householder's plot were apparently made by channels dug for co-operative irrigation"[9]. The cattle of the village were kept outside it in Gosthas[10] under the charge

1. Vinayapitaka (Sarnath Hindi Ed.), P. 199
2. Buddhist India, P 174
3 Jātaka I (Fausboll's Ed), P 318.
4 DPPN. I P 111
5 Ibid. I. P. 626
6 Ibid I 662, Jataka I. (Fausboll's Ed), P. 170
7. DPPN. I P 111
8 Ibid.
9 CHI. Vol. I. P 202
10. MN. (Sarnath Hindi Ed), P. 404

of herdsmen called 'Gopālakas', who might have been collectively paid. There were watchmen over cornfields also, who were called Khettapālas[1] or Khettarakkhakas.

The chief officer of the village was called Grāmanī[2] (Gāmanī of Pāli) or Grāmabhojaka.[3] Dr. R. L. Mehta rightly takes the appellation 'Grāmabhojaka' to mean 'one, who enjoys a village'.[4] The Grāmabhojakas perhaps enjoyed the revenues of the villages by way of return for their service. But sometimes some Brāhmanas also, like Pokkharasādi, Loihccha, and Canki, were liberally granted by king Prasenajita the full enjoyment of the revenues of some prosperous villages namely Ukkatthā[5], Sālavatikā[6], and Opasāda[7] respectively. It does not mean, however, that these learned Brāhmanas were necessarily the administrative heads of these villages. In return for their learned services they were allowed the income from these villages, which did not go to the royal treasury and their administration was carried on by regular Grāmanīs. It may be possible, however, to quote Dr. R. L. Mehta again, that "in some other cases, where the recipients were just ordinary persons like a merchant or a Brāhmana, the headman may have been the same as the recipient"[8] Besides men, a woman is also described to have been appointed as a village-head and is called a 'Gāmapatikā'[9].

The Grāmanī had both executive and judicial powers. He could try small civil and criminal cases but the final appeal lay before the king, who had also the original jurisdiction in important and big cases[10]. The chief functions of the Grāmanī seem

1 Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed), Vol III P 54
2 VI I P.247, Jātaka IV (Fausboll's Ed), P 310
3 Jātaka I (Fausboll's Ed), PP 199, 354, 483 , II PP 136, 300,and IV PP 115, 326
4 Pre-Buddhist India, P 174
5 DN (Sarnath Hindi Ed), P 34
6 Ibid. PP. 82-8
7 MN (Sarnath Hindi Ed), P 394.
8 OP Cit P 174
9. DPPN I P 626.
10 Jātaka (Fausboll), II P 301

to have been, however, the collection of dues and maintenance of law and order in the village. In the absence of any pointed reference about the method and manner of the appointment of the Grāmaṇī, it has been perhaps rightly presumed that the "appointment was either hereditary or conferred by the village-council itself"[1].

The Grāmanī was assisted in his work by a village committee, whose composition was based on the particular requirements of the village, viz. its population, vocations, or trade etc. The Mahāparinibbāna Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya[2] refers to various parisads in the countryside based on Varna and religion, viz. the Brāhmana-Parisad, the Kṣatriya-pariṣad, the Gṛhapati-parisad, and the Śramana-parisad. These Pariṣads, i.e., the committees advised the Grāmanī about their customs, caste-laws, and privileges and must have informed him about their desires in certain given matters. However, the above were not the only committees in the villages. The village, according to its small or big size, its population following one or many professions, and such other distinctions could have and did have one or many committees. These committees by virtue of their representative character spoke with authority at least for their respective groups and administered themselves to a very large extent. The Śrenīs, i.e., the guilds of different trades and callings, neither allowed the Grāmanī nor anyone else to interfere with the management of their respective professions. They looked after the safety and well-being of their members almost unhindered. It was the duty of the Grāmanī to know the wishes, the decisions, the customs, and the inclinations of these Śrenīs and the Parisads and to carry on the village work accordingly It is nowhere mentioned as to how these institutions were composed, but it can be very well imagined that the family-heads might have constituted them and they represented the ripe wisdom and experience of their class. Thus the village people "were proud of their standing, their family and their village"[3].

1. Buddhist India, P. 35
2. Sarnath Hindi Ed, P 132.
3. Buddhist India, P. 37.

Judicial Administration

By the time of the Sūtra age the sources of law had become defined. They were chiefly three in number: the veda; the tradition (Smriti), as remembered by the people; and the conduct of those, who knew the Vedas. Dharma, as law was called, was both positive and recommendatory and had to be traced in these sources. As regards their comparative value, the authority of the Vedas was taken as original and that of the Smritis as derivative. In matters, where authorities were of equal force and somewhat conflicting, any one of them could be followed[1]. The result was that many things had to be decided on the basis of usages, conventions, precedents, and customs of caste, place, or time The latter were included in 'Sadāchāra', i e., good conduct, as established by men of outstanding merit and virtue The laws of different communities, e g, those of the "cultivators, traders, herdsmen, money-lenders and artisans" were recognised[2] for purposes of justice. But the laws of countries, castes, and families were recognised only to that extent upto which they were not opposed to the (sacred) texts[3], i e, the vedas etc "There was no code of positive law emanating from the authority of the king[4]" as such but it is very probable, there might have been royal writs and proclamations, called 'Rājaśāsanas' in later times, regarding given matters and situations

Sources of Law

The king was the head of the judicial department of his state and he performed the duties of the chief judge. There are various references to support the same[5]. But since it was very difficult for one man to do all the judicial work the king had to delegate his authority to

Organisation of the judiciary

1. Gautama DS. I 1 4
2. Gautama DS XI 20-22, Vasistha DS. I 17
3. Gautama DS XI 20, Āpastamba DS II. 6 15 1.
4 HCIP Vol I P 488
5 VR. VII 74. 1-6, Introduction to Bandhanāgāra Jātaka, No. 201, Vol II (Fausboll's ed), P 139, Aṭṭhakarana Sutta of SN. (PTS), Vol. I PP 74ff; Pāyāsirājañña sutta of DN (Sarnath Hindi Ed.), P. 201.

"a royal officer or a Rājanya, who would act as an Adhyakṣha (overseer)[1]." Difficult questions of law were referred by the king to the parisad, whose judicial functions are evident from the Rāmāyana[2]. The pariṣad was the royal privy-council, sitting as the judicial asembly, and was chiefly composed of learned Brāhmanas[3]. The king presented himself in the judgment-hall, called the 'Atthakarana', for hearing cases and awarding punishments[4]. In his absence and on his behalf there were ministers appointed for that purpose, designated as Mahāmaccas or Mahāmātyas, i.e., high officials of the state. Evidently, 'Mahāmātya' was a general term for any high state dignitary and distinction has to be made according to functions. The Vinayapitaka[5] refers to two types of such officers--the Senānāyaka Mahāmacca, i.e., the commander of the army and the Vohārika Mahāmacca, i e, the judges of the court The Buddhist canon, however, refers to an incident, which goes to prove that the senāpati also sometimes tried some cases. Bandhula, the army-commander of Prasenajita, is said to have retried some cases, which the regular judges had decided unjustly, and for which he was loudly applauded by the people The king having heard the whole incident appointed him to be a regular judge[6] and this change of position implies that it were not only the Vyavahāra Amātyas, who could legally try the cases on behalf of the king. The verdict of the commander, referred to above, must have been informal, though honest and forthright. It were only the Vyavahāra Amātyas, before whom Anāthapindika, the famous merchant of Śrāvasti, filed his suit against prince Jeta regarding the sale of the Jetavana[7] The Jātakas[8] name these judges as Vinicchayamahāmaccas, signifying that there were more than one judge In fact, one Jātaka gives

1 HCIP. Vol I P 489
2 VR VII. 74 1-6
3. Ibid VII. 96. 1-9
4 SN (Sarnath Hindi Ed), I. P 71, MN (Sarnath Hindi Ed.), P 79.
5. Sarnath Hindi Ed, P 116.
6 DPPN Vol II PP 266-7
7 Vinayapitaka (Sarnath Hindi Ed), P 461
8. Jātaka II (Fausboll's Ed), P 380, VI. P. 105

their definite number, viz. five[1]. Apart from the central courts, there must have been local courts, especially in the villages, where the Grāmanī had to try cases. Kauṭilya in his Arthaśāstra[2] refers to the power of the village-headman to deport criminals out of the the village like thieves and adulterers. This authority of the Grāmanī seems to have been traditional and conventional and it may be said that in Kośala also the Grāmanis enjoyed such judicial authority. Besides these, there were the courts of the tribe (ñāti) and the guilds (Pūga)[3].

Legal procedure

There was no fixed legal procedure. The Buddhist canon speaks of cases being brought before the judges sitting in the judgment-halls, called Atthakarana, or even before the king sitting either in that hall[4] or his parisad. The Buddhist monks profferred their complaints to the assembly of the śramanas[5]. Apart from these, we never come across any reference showing "anything like legal proceedings, lawyers defending their clients and raising points against the opposite party[6]." The trial and judgment were summary, though the plaintiff and the defendant were allowed to have their say. The introduction to the Bandhanāgāra Jātaka[7] speaks of a criminal case in which a gang of burglars, highwaymen, and murderers had been caught and held before the king of Kośala, who at once ordered them to be chained, roped, and fettered in the prison. The pāyāsirājaññasutta[8] also points to the same conclusion Evidence, regarding which we shall say more below, seems to have been in use[9]. The responsibility of the king or the presiding officer of the court under such circumstances must have been very great and

1 Jātaka V (Fausboll's Ed) P. 228 says :
'तस्स पन रञ्ञो पञ्च अमच्चा·········विनिच्छये नियुत्ता ।"
2. Shamasastry's Translation, P 195
3. AN (PTS), Vol I P. 128 and MN (PTS), Vol I. P. 286.
4 SN. (PTS), Vol, I PP 74ff.
5. MN (Sarnath Hindi Ed), P 79
6 Pre-Buddhist India, P 156.
7 No. 201
8. DN (Sarnath Hindi Ed.), P. 201.
9. SN (PTS), Vol I. PP 74ff

his proper evaluation of the facts of the case and the evidence, his own sense of justice and equity, or his whims, caprices, and prejudices could seriously make or mar his judgment.

The greatest importance was attached to eyewitnesses and informers came only as a second choice. In civil cases possession must have counted much. Cases were decided on the evidence of the witnesses[1].

Evidence

That evidence was often corrupt is amply proved by the complaint, which the kośalan king, prasenajita, made to the Buddha about deliberate lies that his nobles, though of high birth and sufficient fortunes, spoke before him in the judgment-hall[2]. Ordeals seem to have been genuine tests to prove the innocence of a convict The Chhāndogya Upanisad[3] is unambiguous in saying that "truth has the power of saving a man even from death. When an alleged thief is brought handcuffed to the place of trial, he is asked to catch hold of a heated axe. If he has not commttied the theft, he covers himself with the glory of truth, does not burn his fingers, and is set free as an innocent person, but if he is guilty, he is burnt on the spot[4]". According to Āpastamba Dharma-Sūtra[5] also, ordeals as forms of evidence were recognised They consisted in the application of fire and water etc. Fire-ordeal has been referred to in one of the Jātakas[6]. However, ordeals do not seem to have been very common, since the Buddhist canon makes seldom reference to them.

The ideals of justice were undoubtedly high. None was punished, whenever any doubt arose about his or her guilt[7]. In theory, punishment was enjoined to be mild, though in practice the case was sometimes otherwise. The Rāmāyaṇa speaks of the subjects

Crime and Punishment

1. Vinayapitaka (PTS), Vol. IV. PP. 223-4, AN. (PTS), Vol. I P 128; MN. (PTS), Vol. I P 286, DN (PTS), Vol. II. P. 237.
2. SN. (Sarnath Hindi Ed.), Vol. I. P. 71
3. VI 16.1-2.
4. HCIP. Vol I. P. 434, Refer also to CHI. Vol. I. P. 133.
5 II 5. 11 3.
6 Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed), Vol. I. P. 294.
7. Āpastamba Dharmasūtra says. न च सन्देहे दण्डं कुर्यात् II. 5.11.2.

hating a king, whose punishments are very severe[1]. Kālidāsa says that Kośalan kings punished according to the nature of offence[2]. It is again enjoined that an offender, even if very dear, has to be discarded like a finger-sore[3]. The Jātakas refer to the position of a judge and compare the same to that of the beam of a balance[4] (Tulā), pointing to the ideal of equal and unbiassed justice. That punishment should be proportionate to the crime is referred to in the Jātakas also[5]. In criminal cases, where the peace and order of of the realm were disturbed, the offence was regarded to have been committeed against the king and the state took full cognizance of the same. In civil cases the complainant had to lay his or her claim against the defendant in the court, but once it was done so, it was the duty of the state to see that justice was meted out. Reference may be made in this connection to an interesting case, where a child was accidently run over and killed by a king and his Purohita driving in a chariot. The matter was referred for arbitration to the Aikshvākus, who gave the judgment that an expiation was due[6]. Long discussions in this case amply suggest that the sense of justice was quite high

If compared to our days, the punishments prevalent in kośala and also in nearby kingdoms in the days of the Buddha seem to have been very harsh and retributive Crimes were not very infrequent, with the result that peace and order of the realm were often at stake. It was necessary, therefore, that exemplary punishments be awarded and the same be paraded before the public Theft was probably the most common crime, which was variously punished, according to the demands of the situation and the case and very often the punishment for theft was death[7]. Sometimes a thief was

1. कच्चिन्नोग्रेण दण्डेन भृशमुद्वेजितप्रजम् ।
राष्ट्रं तवानुजानन्ति मन्त्रिण कैकयीसुत ॥ II 100 27
2. 'यथापराधदण्डाना'. Raghuvamśa, I 6
3. 'त्याज्यो दुष्ट· प्रियोऽप्यासीदगुलीवोरगक्षता. Ibid I 28
4. Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed), Vol I P. 176.
5. Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed), Vol III. P 105.
6. Cf. HCIP. Vol. I. P 434; Refer also to CHI Vol. I. P. 133.
7. SN. (PTS), Vol. IV. P 345; AN. (PTS.), Vol. III P. 383.

required to be paraded throughout the whole city and was made to pass through every cross-road with his head shaved off and his hands tied into a knot at his back. Thus he was taken out through its southern gate and there his head was chopped off with a sword[1]. An executioner's block was used for this purpose[2]. Sometimes, a thief was put into a big jar with its mouth corked and then the jar, being wrapped up with wet leather and wet clay given as easement to it, was put over an oven with fire underneath[3]. The poor criminal was left to be slowly but surely burnt alive.

Such were probably the punishments in serious types of thefts only. In ordinary cases whipping was also prevalent[4], which, however, sometimes must have resulted into death. Imprisonment and banishment were also in practice[5]. Whipping a prisoner three hundred times a day has also been referred to[6]. Murder was a capital crime[7], and prison, exile, or vengeance by the aggrieved party were in vogue as punishment[8]. Punishments for various types of crimes, however, do not seem to have been specific and the discretion of the king or the judge was a great deciding factor. Punishment for setting fire to others' properties or homes was severe and unbearable whipping, so much so that the culprit could hardly survive[9]. The Majjhima[10] and Anguttara Nikāyas[11] furnish us with the knowledge of a variety of crimes and different punishments awarded against them. The crimes have been counted there as breaking open into others' houses (sandhi-chindeya),

1. Pāyāsirājaññasutta, DN (Sarnath Hindi Ed), P. 201.
2. Therīgāthā, Verse 58.
3. Pāyāsirājaññasutta, DN (Sarnath Hindi Ed), P 201.
4. MN (Sarnath Hindi Ed), Pp 54 and 59, AN. (PTS.), Vol. I, P 47 and II. P. 122 and Vinayapitaka (PTS), Vol. I, P. 7.
5. Vinayapiṭaka (PTS), Vol. III, P. 61.
6. MN. (Sarnath Hindi Ed.), Pp. 532-3.
7. SN (PTS), Vol IV, P 344 and AN. (PTS.) Vol. III, P. 208.
8. AN. (PTS.), Vol. III. P. 208.
9. MN (Sarnath Hindi Ed.), Pp. 532-3
10. Ibid. Pp. 54-5, and PTS. Ed. Vol. I, P. 87.
11. PTS, Ed, Vol. I, Pp. 47-8 and Vol. II, P. 122.

destroying and laying waste the villages, stealing by entering another's house (ekāgārika), waylaying (Paripantha), and contacting others' wives etc. The punishments, which are called kammakaraṇa[1], were also many, e.g., whipping, caning, fines, chopping off either hands or hands and feet both, and chopping off ears or nose or ears and nose both. And still more severe and harsh were trepanning the skull of the victim and then dropping a red-hot iron-ball over it (bilangathālika), sandpapering the scalp with a gravell till it became as smooth as a sea-shell (śankhamundika); tearing open the mouth upto the ears (Rāhumukha[2] or dragon's mouth); burning the body after covering it with oil-soaked cloth (jotimālikā or fire-garland); burning the hand after covering it with cloth (hatthappajotikā); flaying alive upto the neck and then dragging the man (erakavattika)[3], flaying the upper skin upto the loins and the lower upto the knees so as to make it into a sort of garment (chīravāsika); spitting the man to the ground with an iron pin through the elbows and knees and charring him from underneath by burning fire (enavyāka); thrusting ironhooks through the flesh and tendons (balisamānsika, i e, flesh-hooking); cutting out flesh from the body into bits equalling a kārsāpana (Kahāpanaka), adding salt, caustic, or alkali to the injured body after it was beaten with cudgels and wounded (kharapatacchika); thrusting a nail into one ear so that to get it crossed through the other and, after pinning the same to the ground, making rounds of the whole body through its axis (Palighāparivattikā); and striking the bones with maces upto such an extent as to make the whole body a mass of flesh (palālapithaka). Further, we come to know[4] that the victim was either sprayed with hot oil and thrown before

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1 AN (PTS) Vol I, Pp 47-4, II P. 122

2 This has been explained by Shri Yashpal as fixing the mouth of the victim with a skewer and then putting a lighted lamp in it. Vide-Ind. Hist Cong Proceedings, XII P 99

3. Explained by Shri Yashpal as flaying the victim's skin from the neck downwards into stripes upto ankles, where it was twisted into a band with which the body was hung up Ibid.

4. MN (Sarnath Hindi Ed.), P 55; PTS Ed. Vol. I. P. 87 and Dhammapada VS. 308

dogs to be devoured, or impaled alive, or his head was chopped off with a sword, or was made to eat a redhot iron-ball. The aṅguttara Nikāya[1] tells us that sometimes the body of the criminal was wrapped with red-hot iron plates or his mouth opened with red-hot iron spikes and a red-hot copper ball was thrust into it so that it burnt the lips, tongue, throat and belly, the intestines and the bowels, and thus it was passed through the anus. Criminals were also forced to sit or lie on a red-hot iron couch, a bed, or sometimes they were boiled in a red-hot copper cauldron[2]. Sometimes the culprit's legs were bound with a strong rope made of horse-hair and crushed so much so that the rope cut the skin, the under skin, the flesh, the tendons, the bones, and the marrow[3]. Prisoners had their goods and property confiscated on some occassions[4].

If such punishments, as described above, were really in practice in the days of the Buddha-and there are no grounds to disbelieve, since such punishments were in vogue upto the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries of the christian era not only under the so-called 'oriental Despotisms', but also in Europe, it has to be conceded that they were really too harsh, uncivilized, and inhuman. It seems they were motivated by a desire to lessen crime through inculcating a sense of fear. Punishment for adultery was chopping off the head of the culprit after binding his hands at his feet[5] This seems, however, to have been the punishment for a low-caste convict, for we find such a description in one of the Jātakas[6], where it is said that a low-caste man was awarded the death penalty for committing adultery into a king's family, i.e., a high-caste family. Such references to punishments being awarded on the consideration of the caste of the man or woman, offended or the offender, are found very seldom in the Buddhist

1 PTS Ed Vol. IV, PP. 131-2
2 Ibid
3. Ibid. Vol IV, P. 129 and SN. (PTS.) Vol. H. P. 238.
4 DN (PTS) Vol I P 72.
5 Pātali-Sutta,SN. (Sarnath Hindi Ed), Vol. II, P. 595.
6. Kuṇāla-Jātaka, No. 536, Cowell's Eng. Ed. Vol. V. P. 230.

canon. But they are an important feature of the Dharmasūtras[1]. They prove beyond doubt that varna and caste considerations had an undoubted hold on the general masses and the laws regulating their lives. A herdsman convicted of grazing his cattle into the green corn-fields of others[2] was variously punished. He was either killed or imprisoned or suffered losses or scolded. Thus, it is quite certain that no offence was punished in a fixed manner and the punishments differed variously, according to the judgment of the presiding officers of the courts. That punishments in Kośala seem to have been sometimes comparatively less severe is testified to by the Bandhanāgāra Jātaka[3], according to the introduction of which a gang of burglars, highwaymen, and murderers had been caught and held before the king of Kośala, who ordered them "to be made fast with chains and ropes and fetters". It is obvious they were ordered to undergo simple imprisonment.

There were regular prisons called Bandhanāgāras, where the convicted prisoners were jailed and were often kept in fetters and chains[4], and from where they sometimes ran away. We hear about the jail-breakers (kārābhedakas) from the Vinayapitaka[5] There were also the execution-grounds on the southern side of the city. They lay without its areas and walls, which were crossed by the convicts through their southern gates

Fiscal Administration

Wealth was the source of all state actions and the importance of 'Artha' was fully recognised The speech, which Laksamana addressed to his brother, Rāma, in the field of Lankā, fully discusses[6] the importance of wealth in a state. The kings of Kośala were quite

Sources of revenue

1. Gautama and Āpastamba quoted in CHI Vol I P 248 and HCIP Vol. I P. 490.
2. MN. (Sarnath Hindi Ed.), P 75
3. No. 201 (Fausboll's Ed)
4. Ibid Refer also to Jātaka, Vol I (Fausboll's Ed), P. 385 , III. Pp. 326 and 392 and V. P. 459
5. PTS Ed. Vol. I. P. 75.
6. VR. VI. 83. 32-39.

alive to the sense of amassing wealth, through right means of course. The chief source of revenue was the land and the land-tax. Apart from peasant proprietorship[1], the state also owned lands[2], which yielded a substantial revenue to the royal treasury. The king, being the protector of his subjects, their lives, and properties, had the right to tax them and this included the tax on the agricultural produce. It was generally one-sixth[3] of the produce and was given either in cash or in kind, mostly in the latter This seems to have been the highest demand of the state, for the rate of agricultural taxation differed from one-sixth to one-tenth. The Aṭṭhakathā[4] testifies to the practice of one-tenth being taken by the master, i.e, the king from the tiller and it is claimed there to have been an ancient practice of Jambūdvīpa. Gautama "speaks of three different rates, one-tenth, one-eighth and one-sixth to be taken from the land"[5]. The land-tax was taken generally in kind from the produce of the agriculturists' fields and officers have been referred to in the Buddhist literature, who were incharge of collecting the revenues. The Sāmannaphalasutta of the Dīgha Nikāya styles them as Rāsivaddakas, while Kurudhamma Jātaka describes them as Dronamāpakas[6].

The next principal source of state-income was that of commerce, which was carried on both within the kingdom and without it. There was not only land-trade but sea-borne trade as well[7]. Śrāvastī in the days of the Buddha was probably the most important trade-centre, whence trade-routes went in all directions of India,

1 HAI P. 164 and Hindu Polity, PP. 343ff

2. इक्ष्वाकुणामिय भूमि: सशैलवनकानना ।
VR. IV. 18 6 , see also Arthaśāstra, BK II Ch 24.

3 औघस्यमिच्छामि तवोपभोक्तु षष्ठाशमुर्व्या इवरक्षितायाः
Raghuvamśa. II 66.

षड्भागस्य न भोक्तासौ रक्षते न. प्रजा कथम् । VR. VII. 74 32

4 Quoted in Vinayapitaka (Sarnath Hindi Ed,), P. 254, footnote 1.

5 HAI P 163.

6. Cf V S. Agrawal · Pāninikālīna Bhāratavarṣa (Hindi), P. 402 , DN. (Bom. Uni. Pub.), Vol I. P. 75.

7. Refer to Bāveru Jātaka, Cowell's Eng. Ed Vol. III. PP 83-4.

e.g., to Suppāraka[1] (Sopara) on the western seacoast, the distance between the two places being a hundred and twenty leagues[2]; to Uttarāpatha[3]; to Paithan[4] (Patitthāna of Pāli) in the south; and to Rājagṛiha[5] via Vaiśālī. It is evident that the Kośalan capital was a very prosperous city with wealthy merchants, like the famous Anāthapiṇḍika, and its flourishing trade must have added to the royal treasury

The trade-routes, described above, suggest that both the export and import duties were levied. The taxes on commercial goods varied from one-tenth to one-fiftieth. "But one-tenth seems to have been the general rule like the one-sixth for the land tax[6]". The Dīgha Nikāya styles the tax-collectors as Kārakaras[7].

State-owned industries and properties were other sources of filling the state-treasury. Mines were perhaps the most important of those[8] with hills and forests coming next[9]. Elephant-catching and their sale was another important source of revenue from the forests[10] No mention of the imposition of fines on anti-social elements of the population is found in the Buddhist literature, which could be presumed to have swollen the treasury But Pānini's Astādhyāyī refers to such fines being imposed[11] Gambling was controlled and it could be practised only in the

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1. Dhammapadatthakathā, Vol II P 214, as noted in K B Pathak Mem. Vol 1937 P 74
2. Visamyojanasatikam Ibid
3. Petavatthu commentary, PTS P 100, Cf DPPN. Vol I P 363
4. Buddhist India P 64
5. Ibid.
6. Gautama and Āpastamba quoted in HAI P 169, footnote 2
7. DN (Bom Uni Pub), Vol I P 75
8. Rāma, enquiring about Bharata's welfare, asked whether the kingdom of Kośala had its miners still present in it
   'खनिभिरुपशोभितम् । VR. II 100 45
9. इक्ष्वाकुणामिय भूमि: सशैलवनकानना । VR IV 18 6
10. कच्चिनागवन गुप्त कच्चित्ते सन्ति धेनुका ।
    कच्चिन्न गणिकाश्वाना कुजराणा च तृप्यसि ।। VR II 100 50
11. Cf. V S. Agrawal, Pāninikālīna Bhāratavarsa (Hindi), P 413

halls, especially built for the purpose[1]. This had been undoubtedly a source of handsome income to the states of ancient India from the earliest days of her history and officers were engaged to control its play. Besides gambling, drinking was a common habit of the people in Buddha's time[2] and even prior to it. Its control, which devolved on the Surādhyaksa in the Mauryan period, might have started long back and considerable revenue accrued to the state through the control of the manufacture and sale of wine and other alcoholic drinks. Unclaimed property also belonged to the king. It is interesting in this connection to note Prasenajita telling the Buddha how it had taken seven days for his men to carry to the royal treasury the properties of a stranger merchant[3], perhaps hailing from some other city, who had died at Śrāvastī and had left no heir. We are also told in the Aputtaka-Sutta of the Saṁyutta Nikāya[4] that heirless properties fell to the royal treasury. The result was that the royal treasures overflowed with wealth and we find prasenajita boasting of his treasury as full of gold, etc[5]. It must not be taken to mean, however, that the Kośalan kings were greedy. On the contrary, it was their tradition to be noncovetous[6] and their quest of material gains was always tempered with an abiding sense of Dharma[7].

Budgeting and expenditure

It is unfortunate that neither in the Buddhist nor in Brāhmanic literature we find any reference, worthy of notice, concerning state-items of expenditure and so our knowledge is almost nil on this point.

1 Āpastamba DS. II. 10 25
2 Refer to the preambles to Kumbha Jātaka (Cowell's Eng Ed), Vol. V. Pp. 5-6, Mahāsutasoma Jātaka (Cowell's Eng. Ed), Vol V P. 253, and Sigālovādasutta of DN (Sarnath Hindi Ed), P 272 etc
3 Mayhaka Jātaka, No 390
4 Sarnath Hindi Ed Vol I. P 80.
5. Ibid. P 87
6 Rāma has been styled as 'लोभपरागमुख', i.e, one, who runs away from covetousness, Raghuvamśa. XIV. 23.
7. कच्चिदर्थेन वा धर्ममर्थं धर्मेण वा पुनः ।
उभौ वा प्रीतिलोभेन कामेन च न बाधसे ॥ VR. II. 100.62.

The only reference is that of the Rāmāyana[1], where Rāma asks his younger brother Bharata with his peculiar love and care whether his income is great and the expenditure proportiontaely less or not; whether his revenues are spent on deserving causes or otherwise; and whether they are spent on gods, ancestors, Śrotriyas, guests, army, and the allies or not. This is an indirect pointer to the principles of expenditure. Accordingly, budgeting, if any, was firstly made on the principle of always retaining a good reserve and surplus in the treasury, which was not to be emptied at any cost. Secondly, an attempt was made to spend judiciously and thoughtfully only on those items, which really demanded expenditure. They were chiefly[2] the gods, i.e., expenses on religious purposes, the ancestors, i.e, propitiating the manes; Śrotriyas, i e., the study of the Vedas and those, who did it; the guests including the ambassadors from other kingdoms, the vassal kings, the learned Panditas, the ascetics, and the members of ordinary public coming as guests; and the army. The army must have been a major item of expenditure Lastly were the expenses on allies, i.e., all those persons, who were the friends of the kingdom It is definite, this literary piece of evidence on the topic under our discussion cannot be claimed as all-inclusive and final and it goes without saying that revenues of the state must have been spent with a regard to and consideration of all the probable necessities. Like the army, the regularly appointed administrative hierarchy must have drawn from the state-treasury a fair amount as remuneration for its work. That the payments were regular and prompt[3] is suggested by the Rāmāyana The Buddhist canon[4] refers to

1 आयस्ते विपुल: कच्चित्कच्चिदल्पतरो व्यय. ।
अपात्रेषु न ते कच्चित्कोशो गच्छति राघव ॥
देवतार्थे च पित्र्यर्थे ब्राह्मणभ्य।गेतषु च ।
योधेषु मित्रवर्गेषु कच्चिद्गच्छति ते व्यय । VR II. 100 54-55.

2. Ibid.

3 कालातिक्रमणाच्चैव भक्तवेतनयोर्भृता: ।
भर्तु. कुप्यन्ति दुष्यन्ति सोऽनर्थ: सुमहान्स्मृत: । Ibid. II. 100.33.

4. Pāṭalisutta : SN (Sarnath Hindi Ed), Vol. II P. 597 and also P. 644.

some constructions of public utility like Dharmaśālās, etc. Their expenditure also might have been met from the state-treasury in many cases, besides those from private resources. The maintenace of roads and other means of communications were the responsbility of the state and money had to be supplied for that purpose as well.

The expenditure of the state-money was thoroughly scrutinized. An ideal king was enjoined upon to make it a point of daily routine to first check the accounts and think about the financial condition of the state after rising from his bed in the last watch of the night[1], before doing anything else.

Military and Police Administration

The supreme head of the military department was the king, who was responsible for its maintenance in times of peace and leadership in theatres of war. According to Dr. V. R. R. Dikshitar[2], who bases his views on the authority of a verse of the Rāmāyana[3], the general management of this department was carried on by an officer called 'Mantri', whose duties were distinct from those of the commander-in-chief. It was his function to "know the strength and the resources of his enemy as well as that of his side and also the decline and growth of the enemy-state and of his own. Having well considered these circumstances, he had to advise his king about what was proper and conducive to the welfare of the state"[4]. But it is doubtful whether such a minister of war can be said to have existed before the pre-mauryan days. The fact seems to be that the above reference to the 'Mantri' in the Rāmāyana is not particularly to a war-minister but ministers

Military organisation

1 कच्चिन्निद्रावश नैषी: कच्चित्काले प्रबुध्यसे ।
कच्चिच्चापररात्रेषु चिन्तयस्यर्थनैपुणम् ॥ VR II 100 17

2 HAI P. 270.

3 परस्य वीर्यं स्वबल च बुद्ध्वा स्थाने क्षय चैव तथैव वृद्धिम् ।
तथा स्वपक्षेप्यनुमृश्य बुद्ध्या वदेत्तम स्वामिहित च मन्त्री ॥
VR. VI. 14.21-22.

4. HAI P. 270.

in general. This interpretation is corroborated by the statement of Prasenajita, when he claims before the Buddha[1] that his kingdom was able to secure the services of ministers, who were highly qualified and many in number, and who could successfully ward off the enemies of the state by their 'Mantrabala' and 'Mantrayuddha', i.e., the power and war of diplomacy. Really speaking, the effective head of the army was the commander-in-chief, appointed by the king and designated as the 'Senāpati'. To that post were appointed either eminent nobles, very well versed in the art of warfare, like Bandhula and Dīrghakārāyana, the Mallians[2], or princes of the royal family like Vidūdabha[3], the son of king Prasenajita himself It is possible that he might have been, like the vedic senānī, a minister in the king's council. His headquarters were situated at the capital. It is difficult, due to meagre information at our disposal, to throw much light on the hierarchy of military officers below the senāpati. On the lowest level was perhaps the Grāmanī, who 'led in war a minor portion of the host[4]'. In times of war, the various commanders formed a council of war. We are told by the Rāmāyana that Rāvana held such a council[5]' on the eve of his battle with Rāma It was on its majority decision that he decided at last to wage war against Rāma[6].

Like all other armies of ancient Indian states, the Kośalan army was divided into the traditional fourfold divisions, viz the elephantry, the cavalry, the chariots, and the infantry. Besides the Rāmāyana[7], the Buddhist Jātakas[8] also refer to this fourfold force. The samyutta Nikāya[9] also mentions four departments of the army

The Fourfold army

1 SN. (Sarnath Hindi Ed), Vol I P 87
2 Cf DPPN Vol I P 1079 and Vol. II Pp 266-7 respectively
3 Piyajātika Sutta, MN (PTS), Vol II P 110 and Kannakatthala Sutta quoted in DPPN Vol II P 876
4. CHI Vol. I P 95
5. VR VI Chs. VI-XV.
6. Ibid.
7. VR II 93.3 and VI 3 24-28
8 Nos. 66, 70, 71, 157, 161 etc. quoted by Dikshitar in HAI P. 293
9 Sarnath Hindi Ed. Vol I Pp. 77 and 87

and four kinds of warfare, viz. elephant fighting, cavalry fighting, fighting from chariots, and infantry fighting.

Originally, it is possible, the Kośalans also, like the Vedic Indians of the Punjab, did not know the importance of elephants in matters of warfare. It is certain, however, that they were amongst the earliest Indians, situated as they were near the hills and forests abounding in elephants, to appreciate and avail of the elephant-force. According to the Buddhist canon, the elephants were one of the chief components of the army as already referred to above. In the Rāmāyana the rulers are specially enjoined upon to protect the forests, producing elephants[1]. In the Jātaka stories[2] these war animals are described to have been clad in armour, goaded by Mahauts, and mounted upon by armed warriors. They sometimes caused great havoc in the fields of battle. In course of time they proved to be so important that it became customary that the kings lead their hosts from the backs of elephants. Riding and training an elephant has been described in the Sāmannaphala Sutta as one of the important arts[3].

The second component of the fourfold army was cavalry. According to Hopkins[4], horsemen appeared as "Concomitants" or "dependent groups" and their employment was much "influenced by that of the elephants". The best of the horses were styled as 'Vanāyujas[5]', denoting their breed in particular localities. That they were mostly imported from outside India, specially from Arabia and Persia, is clear from the lexicon of Amarasimgha, which classifies the 'Vanāyujas' with those from the land of the persians, the Kāmbojas, and the Bactrians[6]. Horse-riders and

1 कच्चिन्नागवन गुप्त कच्चित्ते सन्ति धेनुका. ।
कच्चिन्न गणिकाश्वाना कुंजराणा च तृप्यसि ॥ VR. II. 100 50

2. Pre-Buddhist India, Pp 162-163

3 DN (Bombay Uni Pub), I P 61.

4 JAOS. XIII P 262 and P. 263

5. Raghuvamśa, V. 73.

6 वनायुजा: पारसीका: काम्बोजा:, बाल्हिका हया: ।
Poona ori. series, 1940. P 73.

trainers were thought to be expert artists like elephant-riders and archers[1].

Next came the chariot-force, known to have been in use in battle-array from the very early periods of Indian history. The chariots were driven by the horses, usually two in number, yoked to each one, but sometimes four also[2]. Warriors used to sit over these vehicles, besides their drivers, called the 'Sārathīs,' and helped by the latter they fought with their bows and arrows, in which they were particularly skilled.

The last component of the army was constituted by the foot-soldiers. It is difficult to say how the recruitments were made or what were the different types of the soldiery That they belonged chiefly to the Kṣatriya class is undeniable, but it is not true that this particular class alone constituted the infantry[3]. Many Brāhmaṇas, like Paraśurāma[4], fought for the Kośalans against the Haihayas of the Dekkan and with distinct success too. That Brāhmaṇas continued to enlist themselves for fighting upto the Mauryan days is supported by the Kautilyan Arthaśāstra[5]. Again, we come across the Vānara-senā[6] of Rāma against the demon-king, Rāvana, which cannot be accepted as having really been constituted of the monkeys. It represented the semi-civilized hilly and forest people of the central and central-eastern India of those days-"undoubtedly a human race, which was called by that name from their monkeyish appearance[7]" The army was thus cosmopolitan in character and did not include only men but women as well, styled as the 'Rājabhatīs[8]', i e., the women-soldiers of the king.

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1 यथा नु खो इमानि भन्ते···सिप्पायतनानि सेय्यथीदं हत्था'रोहा अस्सा' रोहा रथिका धनुग्गहा etc DN (Bom. Uni Pub.), I P. 61

2 Pre-Buddhist India, P. 162

3 Cf Hopkins, JAOS XIII, Pp. 94 and 184-5.

4. See ante Ch IV

5. ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियवैश्यशूद्रसैन्यानां तेजः प्राधान्यात्पूर्वं पूर्वं श्रेयः ।

BK IX. 2 43.

6 VR. VI. 4 40

7. C.V. Vaidya, The Riddle of The Rāmāyaṇa, P 153.

8. Vinayapiṭaka (Sarnath Hindi Ed.), P. 532

These, according to the Vinayapiṭaka, could not be ordained into the saṁgha without the permission of the king[1]. Kauṭilya also refers to women-archers[2]. For want of other corroborative proofs, it is difficult to conclude whether women were actual fighters in the days of the Buddha or not, though it is clear from the late literary account of Raghuvaṁśa[3] that sometimes—e g., when Aja proceeded to the capital of the Vidarbha-king to take part into the Svayamvara of Indumatī, the wives of the soldiers accompanied them However, it may be easily imagined that it must have been very difficult for them to go to the actual theatres of war.

We are unable to say, due to paucity of materials at our disposal, as to what the army did in times of peace, how it was maintained, and what was the mode of its payment in general. War-booty was no doubt to be shared by the soldiery in ancient India. That they were regularly paid also is suggested by the Rāmāyana, where it is said that as a result of late payment and irregular supply of daily rations the soldiers get dissatisfied and so are prone to create great harm to the king and the kingdom[4].

Weapons, Warfare, and its ethics

Various kinds of weapons were in use for offensive and defensive purposes. But like all other primitive peoples, the early Indians mostly used such weapons, which could be easily thrown over the enemy. They were mostly stones and boulders, the supreme representation of which was the 'Vajra' of Indra. The 'Vānaras' of Rāma's army fought against the demon-hosts chiefly with the help of stones-sometimes hyperbolically

1. Ibid
2. Arthaśāstra enjoins the king to be protected by women archers—
   'स्त्रीगणैर्धन्विभि:' BK. I. 21.1.
3. V. 49
4. Rāma enquired of Bharata ·
   कच्चिद्बलस्य भक्त च वेतन च यथोचितंम् ।
   संप्राप्तकालं च दातव्य ददासि न विलम्बसे ॥
   कालातिक्रमणे ह्येव भक्तवेतनयोर्भृता ।
   भर्तुरप्यति कुप्यन्ति सोऽनर्थंसुमहान्कृत: ॥ VR. II. 100 32-33.

called mountains, and sticks or branches of trees, exaggerated often as full trees. However, more important were the bows (Dhanu, Dhanuṣa, or Chāpa) and the arrows (Śara)[1], which were of various types and makes and sometimes poisoned at the tips. There were wooden arrows, tipped with iron, or pure iron-shafts. Swords and spears were common, besides axes (Kuṭhāra or Paraśu); big sticks like present day 'Lāṭhīs'; clubs (Muggara or Mudgara), trident (Śūla); Mace (Gadā); iron lance (Śakti); and Javelin (Tomara)[2] Duel-fighting was also not unknown[3]. The Rāmāyana[4] speaks of Isūpalas, capable of raining arrows and boulders over the enemy; and Śataghnīs (Lit. Killer of a hundred), which were probably something like our modern machine-guns, capable of killing hundreds at a time, ostensibly by throwing some weapons over the enemy from above. There were many defensive weapons as well, the most important being the shield, made of leather (Chammam of Pāli), and the coat of arms or armour[5] Gloves made up of iguana-leather were also used[6] by bowmen in order to protect their own fingers[7] from being wounded by constant handling of sharp low-strings.

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1. Cf Pre-Buddhist India, P 171, VR VI 44 37
2. भग्नैर्खड्गैर्गदाभिश्च शक्तितोमरपट्टशै. ।
   VR. VI 43 45 and VI 51 24-25, Pre-Buddhist India, P 171, Pānini refers to the lancers (Śāktika) cf V S Agrawal Pāninikālina Bhāratavarṣa (Hindi), P 415, Refer for the explanation of Śakti to Hopkins, JAOS, XIII P 289
3. VR VI Ch. 43
4. चत्वारि विपुलान्यस्या द्वाराणि सुमहान्ति च ।
   तत्रेषूपलयन्त्राणि बलवन्ति महान्ति च ।।
   शतशो रचितावीरै. शतघ्न्यो रक्षसा गणै: । etc VR. VI. 3.12 and 14.
5. Cf Pre-Buddhist India, P 172 and VR. VI 19 12.
6. बद्धगोधागुलित्राणस्त्ववध्यकवचो युधि ।
   धनुरादाय तिष्ठन् स त्वदृश्यो भवतीन्द्रजित् ।। VR VI. 19.12.
   and
   बद्धगोधांगुलित्राणान्सशरासनसायकान् ।
   सासिचर्मांकुशाभीषून् सतोमरपरश्वधान् ।। Mbh. VII. 36.23
7. Cf Hopkins, JAOS XIII Pp. 307-8.

The army was employed both for offensive and defensive purposes. The Kośalan kings were great conquerors and led their soldiers to almost all the parts of the country during the long period of their rule. In the kingdom also the times were not always peaceful and the army had to cope with special emergencies like border raids by frontier states, border rebellions, revolts by dissatisfied people, and depredations by anti-social elements of the society, specially the robbers etc., which were quite frequent[1]. Although there were troops stationed at the frontiers[2] (paccanta-yodhe), they were not always equal to the task of repelling such attacks or revolts and the king had to send either fresh reinforcements or had to himself march in person. We come to know from the kalāya-mutṭhi Jātaka[3] how prasenajita proceeded to quell such a revolt in spite of the fact that it was a rainy season, which was not deemed a proper time for the march of an army[4]. Good or bad omens and dreams were taken into account before a march had to be made[5] or a battle had to be given. On the actual battle-field itself the troops were arranged into separate arrays[6], as situations required. Of these the most popular were the lotus-array (padma-vyūha) and the wheel-array (Chakra-Vyūha). The whole array was properly positioned and parade was not unknown[7]. Siege-warfare was quite in practice[8]. The invader attacked the other side, which, if weak, entrenched itself either in forts, the capital town, or any other suitable place with complete encircling by the attacking army. Thus the siege was complete. The construction of the forts or the capital town with its manned and shut-up gates,

1 Vinayapiṭaka (Sarnath Hindi Ed.), P. 146 refers to the rising of the Śabaras in Kosala Refer also to Aṅgulimālasuttanta, MN. (Sarnath Hindi Ed), P.353 and also to DPPN. Vol. I. Pp 22-23, 72 and II. P 143 etc.
2. Pre-Buddhist India, P. 166
3. Fausboll's Ed , Vol II. P 74 ; refer also to the Kosiya Jātaka, (Fausboll's Ed), Vol II P 208
4. Ibid.
5. VR VI 10 15ff.; HAI. P. 298.
6. VR VI 23. 2 , Vinayapitaka (Sarnath Hindi Ed.), P. 61.
7. Vinayapitaka (Sarnath Hindi Ed.), P.61.
8. Cf. Pre-Buddhist India, P 167.

its ramparts (Prākāra), and a moat surrounding it (parikhā) helped the besieged from being easily annihilated by the invading army. The invaders were severely checked by those arrangements unless shortage of provisions, unusual bravery by the invaders in breaking open the besieged walls, or some calamity forced the besieged to either surrender or to engage in a do-or-die battle. Each side fully looked into its strategy, in which small detachments under various leaders were pitted against the opposite side[1].

The ethics of war was very high. It was a rule that ambassadors of the enemies, whatever might be their offence, were not to be killed[2]. Night-battles, which later in the Mahābhārata war were avoided, were fought between the vānara-army of Rāma and the demon-army of Rāvana[3] Children and old-folk were saved from being killed in battles. The villages and cities were avoided in the march of the army so that their innocent people might be saved from woe and destruction and their crops might be saved from being crushed and destroyed[4].

Police administration

Police is a necessary equipment of every State. The maintenance of law and order as well as peaceful life and public avocations depend on orderly behaviour of the governed on one side and the power and ability of the governors to take those to task,

1. VR VI Ch 38
2. प्रसीद लंकेश्वर राक्षसेन्द्र धर्मार्थयुक्त वचन श्रुणुष्व ।
   दूतानवध्यान् समरेषु राजन् सर्वेषु सर्वत्र वदन्ति सन्ता ।।
   असशय शत्रुरय प्रवृद्ध कृतं ह्यनेनाप्रियमप्रमेयम् ।
   न दूतवध्या प्रवदन्ति सन्तो दूतस्य दृष्टा बहवो हि दण्डा· ।।
   Ibid. V. 52. 13-14.
3. Ibid VI Ch. 44
4 वर्जयन्नगराम्यासास्तथा जनपदानपि ।
   सागरौघनिभ भीम तद्वानरबल महत् ।। Ibid. VI 4.40
   Magasthnese says that tillers ploughed their land without any insecurity from the soldiers, who sometimes fought pitched battles just by their side Cf Mcrindle's Ant Ind. P 48.

who dare challenge the authority of the state and law on the other. As regards the early stages of Kośalan history, nothing particular is known in this connection but there are sufficient grounds provided by the Buddhist canon to show that the law and order situation was not very happy during the later periods. Burglaries, theiving, robbery, and waylaying are often referred to in the Jātakas[1], besides other sections of the Tripitaka. Kośalā was particularly infested by these anti-social elements in the days of the Buddha, the most notorious of those being Aṅgulimāla, the terror of the people, whom the benign magic of the Buddha later turned into a saint from a satan[2]. It is unthinkable that the Kośalan state could afford to allow them to indulge in their nefarious depredations. Sāratthappakāsinī, the saṁyutta commentary, speaks of how Prasenajita surrounded the Andhavana and destroyed a gang of bandits, who dared so much as to lay in wait for the king himself[3]. We are further told by the Majjhima Nikāya of the preparations of the same monarch against Angulimāla[4] It was with five hundred mounted police that the king had designed to catch hold of that great robber[5] It is rather unfortunate that very little is known about regular policemen, their designations, duties, and remunerations etc. Reference is made, no doubt, to 'Purusakas[6]' or 'Puruṣas', that is, the 'Rājapuruṣas', catching hold of thieves and other culprits and bringing them before the king for punishment. These 'purusas' were undoubtedly the members of the civil-police and it was their duty to enquire about stealth and murder etc and to trace the offenders. The Buddha refers[7] to the long-haired soldiers, i.e, military-police of the koliyas,

1. Refer to Jātaka no 139, MN (Sarnath Ed.), P 353 , DPPN. Vol. I. Pp. 22-3, and 72, and II Pp. 143 and 484
2 MN (Sarnath Hindi Ed), P. 353
3. Vol I PP 131ff quoted in DPPN. Vol II P 143.
4 Sarnath Hindi Ed P 353, DPPN. Vol. I. Pp. 22-23.
5. MN. (Sarnath Hindi Ed.), P. 354
6. Ibid. P 280. 'Purusa' was a common word for ordinary servants also. DN. (Bom Uni Pub), Pt. II. P. 128 says:
7. "कोलियानं च मल्ला पुरिसे आणापेसु" ।
Pāṭalisutta, SN. (Sarnath Hindi Ed.), Vol. II. P. 594.

who were of quite bad conduct (Duḥśīla), probably because of their association and dealings with bad characters and their consequent harshness. Their duty has been described[1] as firstly to guard against the thieves and secondly to work as messengers. In order to assist these police-men and other functionaries in the field of law and order there were spies[2], who roamed about and supplied the king or his officers with information about places, people, and incidents. Birds were also employed to collect news and sending messages. The preamble to the Kuntani Jātaka[3] informs us how a heron was tamed into the house of the Kośalan king and used to carry letters to other kings. Parrots and herons were kept in the royal palace also, in order to detect fires and suspects and it is said in the Rāmāyana that queen Kauśalyā used to speak to the parrots[4]. It is nothing surprising, for we find in our own days how helpful are the dogs of the Scotland yard to the London police or the pigeons of the Delhi and Orissa police in India. The offenders were put before the king after being caught, who punished them and sometimes ordered them to be put into jails. The Bandhanasutta of the samyutta Nikāya[5] and the preamble to the Bandhanāgāra Jātaka[6]—both of which probably refer to one and the same incident of the king's diadem being stolen[7], refer to prisons and prisoners in them with ropes and fetters bound into their hands. Prisoners used to be freed from the jails on auspicious and happy occasions, e g , the birth of a son[8] to the reigning monarch.

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1. Ibid
2. Jatila Sutta. SN. (Sarnath Hindi Ed.), Vol I. P. 74 , VR. II 100.36.
3. No 343 (Cowell's Eng Ed.), Vol. III. P. 89.
4. Cf. V.R R Dikshitar, HAI P 96
5. Sarnath Hindi Ed Vol I P 72.
6. No. 201 (Fausboll's Ed), Vol. II. P. 139.
7. Sāratthappakāsini, Samyutta commentary, quoted in DPPN. Vol. II. P. 264.
8. Raghuvamśa, III. 20.

CHAPTER X

KOSALAN GAṆAS : CONSTITUTION AND GOVT.

Statehood of the Kośalan Gaṇas

It is now generally accepted that the Gana rule meant the 'rule of numbers' or 'the rule of many[1].' But what actually was the form of this 'rule of many' is still a subject of controversy. Monier Williams[2] took the word Gana to mean 'tribe', signifying that the Gana-rule was a tribal one. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar opined that the Gana was "tribal in character and was confined to the Kṣhatriya order[3]." Dr. Rhys Davids thought[4] that the Gaṇas were clans, suggestive of the fact that theirs' was a clan-rule. The respective positions taken by these scholars, differing very slightly from each other, imply that either the Ganas had not been able to develop themselves into perfect statehood, or that, if they were organised as states, theirs' were tribal organisations-not fully developed, or that they were communally based behind the clan-leaders, or that they "were autonomous local bodies with larger power than the village communities[5]" The Śākyas' the Koliyas, the Moriyas, and the Kālāmas were no doubt Ksatriya clans and the names do not suggest that countries are meant. But when Dr. Rhys Davids says that in the list of the 'Solasamahājanapadas', which included the Mallas, "the names are names not of countries but of peoples, as we might say Italians or Turks[6]", he does not appear to stand on firm ground. As a matter of fact, what is primarily meant in that list is the enumeration of countries and it is only secondarily

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1 Jayaswal, Hindu Polity, P. 25
2 Sanskrit-English Dictionary, P. 343.
3. Charmichael Lectures, 1918 (Saimgha Form of Pol Govt.) P 172.
4. Buddhist India, P. 13ff
5. CHI. Vol. I P. 178.
6. Buddhist India, P. 16.

that the peoples are suggested. The very title is 'Solasamahājanapada', meaning the 'seat or the countries of sixteen great peoples' and not the 'Solasamahājanas', i.e., the 'sixteen great peoples'. Janapada in Sanskrit grammar meant a collection of villages[1]. Originally the villages included the cities as well and thus the Janapada signified a certain continuous stretch of territory. Kośala had been a Mahājanapada right from the very beginning[2] but after its glory had begun to wane, centrifugal tendencies began to show themselves on its north-eastern periphery and the Ganas or Samghas came into existence Originally they formed parts of Kośala, but by the time of the Buddha they had become independent entities with specific territories to their credit- so much so that one of them, viz the Malla Janapada finds mention as a Mahājanapada[3], a status equal to that of Kośala itself Because of their independent status the Ganas have to be styled as Janapadas.

We shall proceed to see now that all the ingredients of a state in the modern sense of the term, were present in the Kośalan Ganas or Samghas They had their independent territory, which never lacked in population and that was sufficiently numerous and civilized. That they occupied a very important area of the then India is proved, if any proof is required at all, by the large number of religious and political schools that developed there during the pre-Mauryan days That those Ganas were supreme associations, possessed full political unity, were represented by organised governments, and had more or less sovereign power is attested to by many references The preamble to the Bhaddasāla-Jātaka[4] introduces the Śākyas as having assembled in their own Santhāgāra to discuss as an independent people the proposal of another sovereign, Prasenajita, for the hands of a Śākyan maiden It is a fact that the Śākyas are sometimes represented as doing homage and

1. ग्रामसमुदायो जनपद । Kāśikā, IV 2.1
2. Pāṇini, IV 1 171, AN (PTS), Pt I P. 213, Pt. IV. Pp. 252, 256, and 260.
3. AN (PTS) Pt I. P. 213, Pt IV. Pp 252, 256, and 260
4. Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed), Vol. IV Pp. 144ff.

accepting the vassalage of the Kośalan kingdom.[1] But do we not find even in our own modern times that small and less powerful states have to be many a time helpless camp-followers of some other big and more powerful states in their international behaviour? They can hardly be said as possessing cent per cent sovereignty but still they are deemed to be independent states and rightly so. The very fact that an embassy was sent to Kapilavastu by Prasenajita to get an assent to his request and also that the existence of a tree has been referred to[2] on the boundary line of the Śākyan Gana on one side and the Kośalan kingdom on the other are sufficient proofs of their separate status River Rohini, the dividing line between the Śākyan and the Koliyan territories has also been mentioned[3]. The Śākyas and the Koliyas are introduced as capable of deciding questions of peace and war[4] In face of such clear evidence, Thomas Watters' view that the Śākyan territories and its capital, Kapilavastu, were included in the direct administration of the kingdom of Kośala[5] cannot be accepted, even though it is a fact that geographically they formed part of Kosala.

The Mallas are described in the Mahāparinibbāna-Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya as reluctant to share the bodily remains of the Buddha with other claimants of the same[6] on the ground that the master had attained his Nirvāna in their territory. The sense of sovereignty over their affairs is clearly visible. When they decided at last on the advice of the Brāhmana Drona to share them, it was just like the present-day governments and the friendly peoples of Ceylon, India, and Burma sharing or presenting to each other the holy relics of the Buddha or his disciples and famous followers. Further, when one finds the Mallakis or the Vajjis

1 Ibid Vol IV P 145
2 Ibid. Vol IV. P 152
3. Kunāla Jātaka, Introduction (Fausboll's Ed.), Vol. V.P. 413
4. Ibid
5 On Yuan Chwang's Travels, Vol. II. P. 3
6 एव वुत्ते कोसिनारका मल्ला ते संङघे गणेएतदवोच्चु—'भगवा अम्हाक ग्रामक्खेत्ते परिनिब्बुतो। न मयदस्साम भगवतो शरीरानं भाग' ति।
D N. (Bom. Uni Pub), Pt. II. P. 132

confederating[1], or the Mallas and Vajjis associating[2] with each other against the threat of powerful neighbouring monarchies like that of Magadha, one may reasonably conclude that they burnt with the desire of retaining their freedom and political unity at all costs. In the light of such clear evidence, there is no reason, whatsoever, to doubt the independent statehood of the Kośalan Ganas

Their democratic Character

Once it is accepted that the Ganas were full-fledged states, the next question arises as to what form of states they were The answers to this question have been the most divergent and the controversies do not seem to be subsiding. They have been variously designated as republics[3], non-monarchical democracies[4], and tribal oligarchies or aristocracies[5] The plain fact, however, remains that full theoretical congruence to these political designations of a state can hardly be traced in the Buddhist Ganas The ideas and the connotations of republics or democracies are very much confused and varying even today There are states like China and Soviet Union, which style themselves as republics but are totalitarian in character There are others like the French Republic, essentially democratic in character, which does not confer on practically half of the population, viz the women, any right to vote The Union of England and Scotland, where the headship of the State resides in the crown represented by a hereditary monarchy is yet rightly called the mother of all the modern democracies, chiefly because it cherishes the principles of Individual Liberty and the sovereignty of the people. In fact, any definition regarding any type of state suffers from at least some limitations

1. cf. Bhandarkar D R, Op Cit P 172
2 Jain Kalpasūtra (SBE), Vol. XXII. P 266 and the Jain Niryāvaliyao, 1 Pp. 57 ff
3. Jayaswal, Hindu Polity Pp 42ff, Altekar, State and Govt Pp 71 ff, Rhys Davids, CHI. Vol I P 175.
4 R C. Majumdar, Corporate Life Pp 239ff.
5 D R Bhandarkar, Op Cit P 172, U.N. Ghoshal, Indian Culture, XII, P 63

and can be said to be true only in broad outlines. Judged from this angle, the Buddhist Ganas were non-monarchical democracies, resembling very much their contemporary Greek republics of Sparta or Athens. True, in the Śākyan state the authority to declare war and peace did not vest in the ordinary citizens but in the rājās[1]. The question may be posed, however, whether it belongs to the general mass of people even in modern democracies? Do we not see that in times of war or such other emergencies even the elected representatives of sovereign parliaments know little and are seldom consulted about top matters of state and the "war committees" almost suspend the constitutions[2]. As a matter of fact, the national assemblies of ancient Indian Ganas, in whom individual liberty and independent public opinion had their full play[3], seem to have been more powerful than the modern parliaments, where parliamentary opposition is voted down in the house and internal opposition from within the government parties is sometimes stifled and negatived through party whips and mandates. It is all done, no doubt, within the framework of accepted constitutions and with an eye on public opinion, but the overpowering hands of the party leaders are at the same time perceptible. The result has been that cabinets have gradually grown to be all-powerful in modern democracies. The leaders of ancient Indian Ganas do not seem to have been so powerful, and we find that even an astute leader like Śrīkrisna, who was the chief of the Andhaka Vrisni Samgha, had to complain about his abject dependence on others[4]

The next allied question is as to what was the composition of the Ganas and who were the members of their national assemblies. To say that the Ganas were "confined to the Kshatriya order"[5]

1 Bhaddasāla Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed), Vol IV. Pp 144ff

2 G B Adams, Constitutional History of England, Pp 490-1

3 The Chullakālinga Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed, Vol III P 1) indicates that the members of the Central assembly were all given to argument and disputations and led an active and vigorous political life.

4. दास्यमैश्वर्यवादेन ज्ञातीनां वै करोम्यहम् ।
अर्धंभोक्ताऽस्मि भोगानां वाग्दुरुक्तानि च क्षमे ॥ Mbh XII 81. 5.

5. Bhankarkar D. R., Op. Cit. P. 172.

alone does not seem to conform to facts, though it may be accepted that the kṣatriyas formed their most predominant class. In Dr. Altekar's opinion[1], the members of the supreme national assembly were called 'rājās' because they were Ksatriyas, but, as has already been discussed before[2], it was not always so. 'Rājā' was only their title. That the Brāhmanas were totally excluded from the membership of those national assemblies looks impossible. The Santhāgāras, we are informed, were not the places exclusively meant for political assemblies alone but they were used for various other cultural, social, and religious purposes including religious sacrifices[3] It is certain that on these various occasions and also when political matters were discussed, the non-Ksatriyas also must have been taking part in the discussions in the Santhāgāra and making their own contributions. It was a matter of social structure and institution that in ancient India the Ksatriyas were chiefly assigned the task of governance[4]. It was a custom not in the monarchies alone but in the non-monarchical States as well and despite frequent interchange of professions between the various Varnas, the idea was highly embedded in Hindu thought and action That was the reason why the Ksatriyas or the Rājanyas predominated the Ganas and their political assemblies Is it then right to "conclude[5] that the term 'Samgh-Gana' in the political sense signified an aristocracy or oligarchy", even if the "supreme power was enjoyed by a Kshatriya clan"? can it be claimed that the rest were like the helots of Greece, who, let alone the political rights, did not enjoy even many of the civil rights[6] of citizenship ? Public opinion must have counted much in that age, when the system of election and free voting was undoubtedly known and even

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1 State And Government P 75.
2 See ante Ch VII.
3 MN (Sarnath Hindi Ed), P 207
4. P M H Valvalkara, Hindu Social Institutions (1939), Pp 239 ff.
5 U N Ghoshal, Indian Culture, XII P. 63.
6 J B Bury, History of Greece (The Modern Library ,New York), Pp 120 and 124

referendum was sometimes taken[1]. It seems perfectly clear that "Sovereignty in these states was vested not in one individual but in a fairly numerous class[2]".

The Constitutional machinary of the Kośalan Gaṇas

It is quite unfortunate that very little is known about the constitution and administration of the Gaṇa States of Kośala specifically. A fairly clear account of the Vajjian system of administration and the conditions of working in their political assembly is found in some of the Jātakas[3], the Lalitavistara[4], and the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya[5] and Dr. R C. Majumdar seems to have rightly observed on the authority of the Bhaddasāla Jātaka[6] that the "Śakya and Lichchavi constitutions appear to resemble each other to a great extent[7]" It should be borne in mind, however, that our knowledge about the Śakyas is quite meagre and what is known from the Buddhist canon, the primary source of knowledge about the Buddhist Gaṇas, is not sufficient to supply us with even the bare outlines of their constitution Of other Kośalan Gaṇas we know alomost little. The reasons why the Tripitaka does not supply us any full account of the constitution of those non-monarchical states seem to be twofold, firstly and primarily because there seems to have been little occasion for that description, since it speaks mostly about religious principles, social questions, as well as the discipline of the monks' lives, and secondly because the Gaṇas and their working were so well-known and understood at the time, when the Buddha spoke his words and which the canon is supposed to record, that they hardly required any explanation. It is only in those accounts of the Tripitaka, which were composed comparatively later,

1 Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed), Vol I P 399 describes the election of a king to a vacant throne in the words :— 'सकलनगरएकछन्दहुत्वा' etc
2 Altekar, State and Government. P 74
3 Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed), Vol. I P 504; Vol III. P 1 and Vol IV P. 143.
4 Ch III.
5 DN (Bom. Uni. Pub.), Pt II. Pp. 59-62.
6 Fausboll's Ed , Vol IV. Pp 144ff
7 Corporate Life., P. 238

viz. the Jātakas, that some descriptions about the various Ganas are given. These are mostly given by way of introductions to the Jātakas proper and are based, no doubt, in their essence on historical facts. The Mahābhārata[1] and Pāṇini's Astādhyāyī[2] refer to the existence of the Ganas and Saṁghas, no doubt, but they hardly help us in knowing anything about the Kośalan Ganas. The reason is that they talk primarily about the north and north-west and the data they furnish relate mostly to those regions. It may be asked why the Purānas, the foremost source of the Pre-Mauryan history, do not say anything about the Ganas? The answer seems to be clear enough. Being sung and recited in imperial courts, they, with their emphasis on the 'vamśānucharita'[3], neglected the Gaṇa history and constitution, based as they were on the principle of election and collective-rule as opposed to heredity and legitimacy. It is also possible that, when they were given their final redactions in about the Gupta period, the insignificance of the then Ganas and the dazzling hallow of the imperial monarchy furnished no opportunity to the Sūtas and Māgadhas to think even that in bygone days there had been an age in Indian history, which could very well be styled as the age of the Non-monarchical Ganas. That age seems to have coincided with the age of the Solasamahājanapadas, all of which, it has to be noted, were not non-monarchical That age ranged within about a thousand years from the Mahābhārata war to the advent of the Mauryas and is the so-called Prehistoric period of Indian history[4] The neglect of the non-monarchical history by the Purānas has resulted into their own unreliability about the history of that period On their careful perusal, it would be

1. Śānti Parva, Ch 107
2. III. 3 36-42
3. There are five Lakṣanas of a Purāna enumerated in the following verse —

सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वशो मन्वतराणि च ।
वशानुचरित ज्ञेय पुराण पचलक्षणम् ॥ Matsya 53.64.

4. V Smith accepts the historic period of Indian History to have started since the days of the Buddha. Vide-Early History 4th Ed. P 28.

found that mutual contradictions in the Purānas themselves in the narration of historical events and the genealogical tables relating to the period in question are as great as their agreements about the pre-Mahābhārata history. Most of them make an almost abrupt ending of their narration as soon as the Mahābhārata war is described and even the most authentic of them like the Visnu and the Matsya give bare names of kings, who ruled between the post-Mahabhārata and Pre-Buddhan period. They even commit such great blunders as to show Śākya, Śuddhodana, Siddhārtha, and Rāhula[1] as kośalan kings directly descending from Iksvāku, and put Prasenajita in their line.

Only a broad framework of the constitution that operated in the Kośalan Ganas can be drawn out The head of the State was called 'Rājā' and his post seems to have been elective. The old Pāli canon speaks of Śuddhodana[2] as having been a Rājā or even a Mahārājā[3], which finds support from the Lalitavistara[4] Bhaddiya too is kuown to have been given that title[5] It is quite probable that Bhaddiya might have been elected to the post of Rājā, when Śuddhodana had either been dead or had grown quite old. The next in authority of the Gana state was the Uparājā[6], whose function was perhaps to deputize for the Rājā in the event of his absence. The third in importance must have been the Senāpati. It is surprising that, as far as the Kośalan Ganas are concerned, no reference to the Senāpati is anywhere made in the Tripitaka but, relying on the fact that among the Lichchavis the commander-in-chief occupied a prominent position[7] and also that the Ganas were ever zealous about maintaining their political entity in an age when monarchies had been their constant enemies, it can be safely assumed that

1. रणञ्जयात्सञ्जयस्तस्माच्छाक्यश्शाक्याच्छुद्धोदनस्तस्माद्राहुलस्तत. प्रसेनजित् ॥ Visnu. IV. 22 8, Matsya, Ch 270
2. DN. (Bom. Uni Pub.), Pt. II P.7.
3. Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed.), Vol. IV. P. 50.
4. Lalitavistara, XII. 115.
5. Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed), I 40, Vinayapitaka, Chullavagga, VII 1. 3ff.
6. Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed), Vol. V. P. 413.
7. Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed.), Vol. I. P. 504.

they must have organized their forces under capable leaders called Senāpatis.

The Central assemblies of the Ganas were called the Santhāgāras, which used to be built not only in the capitals but also sometimes in the outlying towns[1] and villages. Besides political meetings, which were held there, social and religious topics were also discussed[2] in them. In Brāhmana villages the Santhāgāras were used for religious sacrifices[3]. Thus, it is evident that they were multi-purpose halls. It seems, serious matters of politics or of administration, not exclusively local, were discussed and decided only in the Central Santhāgāras. The Bhaddasāla Jātaka informs[4] that the Śākyas of Kapilavastu received in their Santhāgāra the Kośalan embassy of Prasenajita, who wanted them to marry one of their daughters to him, and discussed there the desirability of acceptance or otherwise of his proposal. We are further informed by the Dulva[5], that, when Vidūdabha attacked the Śākyan capital, Kapilavastu, opinion was divided on the question whether to open the gates of the city or not and it was referred for a vote to the central assembly, which decided by a majority to open the gates. The members of the central assembly, the Santhāgāra, also were styled as 'rājās[6]' but, as has already been discussed before[7], they seem to have appropriated this title quite late--possibly sometime before the rise of the Mauryas. The earlier canon, while making mention of the Santhāgāras, refers to its members simply as Śākyas[8], their clan name, and not as Rājās The Lalitavistara says[9] that the Śākya elders of Kapilavastu assembled to discuss the upbringing of Sarvārthasiddha, i.e., Siddhārtha Gautama, when he was brought

1. MN (Sarnath Hindi Ed), P. 267
2 SN Khomadussaka Sutta, VII 2 12
3 SN (Hindi Ed, Sarnath), Vol I. P 207
4 Fausboll's Ed Introduction. Vol. IV. Pp 144ff.
5 Rockhill, Life of Buddha, P. 119.
6. Ibid, Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed), Vol IV P. 158; Vol. V. P. 413.
7. See ante. Ch VII.
8. DN (Bom Uni. Pub.), Pt. II Pp. 101-102.
9. Ed by R. L Mitra (Bib Ind), P. 114.

back from Lubmini after his birth. They assembled at Śuddhodana's house and not in the Santhāgāra, probably because the subject under discussion was only a private matter of Śuddhodana's family and not a state-matter. The women also collected because the very nature of the question under discussion implied that their advice was essential. The elderly men of that assembly seem to have been the members of the Santhāgāra. If it is accepted, Rhys David's view that all "Young and old[1]" formed its membership may fall short of evidence.

The procedure of working in the Gana-assemblies

Dr. K P. Jayaswal[2] and Dr D. R. Bhandarkar[3] seem to have rightly hit the mark in their opinion that the Buddha, who himself belonged to a Kośalan Gaṇa, must have been perfectly aware of the procedure of deliberations within the Gana-assemblies and also that he adopted that procedure for his own Brotherhood. It is true, we find no direct reference to the procedure adopted by the Gaṇas as such but a fairly clear idea of the same may be had by looking into the working of the Buddhist Brotherhood. Though probably modified for the use of a religious order, the Buddhist methods and the rules of procedure seem to have grown quite technical because of their sufficient past usage They are chiefly known from the Vinayapiṭaka and a sketch may be drawn on its basis.

Seating arrangements

The members of the assembly were allotted separate seats of their own. In order that the arrangement might not be disturbed, an officer, known as 'Āsanapaññāpaka, (Sk. Āsanaprajñāpaka) was appointed to help the members in taking their respective seats. In the Buddhist congregation held at Vaiśāli, a Bhikkhu of the standing of ten years, named Ajita, had been appointed to this job[4].

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1. Buddhist India (1926 ed.), P. 19.
2. Mod Review, 1913 Pp. 664ff ; Hindu Polity, Pp 90-91.
3. Op. cit., P 184
4. Vinayapiṭaka, Chullavagga, XII. 2.7.

There was a rule of quorum, for want of which no assembly could conduct its business without the fear of all its deliberations being declared in another full assembly as completely null and void. A quorum requiring the presence of at least twenty members seems to have been fixed for the meetings of the local Buddhist assemblies[1]. "If an official act, O Bhikkhus, is performed unlawfully by an incomplete congregation it is no real act and ought not to be performed[2]." An officer, known as 'Ganapūraka', was appointed to maintain the presence of at least the minimum number of an assembly and 'help to complete the quorum[3]' Dr. Jayaswal opines that the "Ganapūraka was the 'whip' to the assembly for a particular sitting[4]."

Quorum

There were fixed methods for moving resolutions in the assembly. Any mover of a resolution had to first give 'notice' of the same by way of a 'Natti' (Sk. Jñapti). In the Buddhist Samgha it was proposed: 'Let the venerable Samgha hear me' 'If the time seem meet to the Samgha, let the Samgha do . .. This is the motion' (Natti, i.e., Jñapti, Notice)[5]. Then the mover was allowed to move the actual resolution, which used to be termed as Pratijñā[6]. The actual process of the moving of the resolution was known as Kammavāchā[7] and its proclamation to the Samgha was called Anusrāvana[8]. Those, who were in agreement with the resolution, were asked to keep silent but those in opposition were allowed to give full vent to their opinion and were asked to speak on the resolution. There were occasions, when the resolution was

Resolutions

1. Vinayapiṭaka, Mahāvagga, IX 4 1
2. अधम्मेन च भिक्खवे वग्गकम्म अकंम्म न च करणीय । Ibid. IX. 3.2.
3. Eng. Trans adopted from SBE. XII. P. 307.
4. Hindu Polity (2nd Ed), P. 93.
5. Natti's meaning 'Notice' is appropriated here from K P. Jayaswal's Hindu Polity, P 91.
6. Vinayapiṭaka, Mahāvagga, IX. 1 6-9, (Sarnath Hindi Ed.), Pp. 301ff. and P 347.
7. Ibid.
8. Vinayapiṭaka (Sarnath Hindi Ed), P. 105.

repeated three times and if the assembly remained silent on all the three occasions, it was declared to be carried and the decision was let known to the affected person or persons. The acceptance of a resolution by the Samgha was called Dhārana. The process may be clearly understood from the following account of the Vinayapitaka, where the Buddha lays down the method for the initiation of a newcomer to the Samgha in the following words[1] :—

'Let the reverend Saṁgha hear me. Mr. so and so is desirous of being initiated under the longlived Mr. so and so. If the Samgha deem fit, it may initiate Mr. so and so under the teachership of Mr. so and so. This is Jñapti.'

Jñapti

'Let the reverend Samgha hear me Mr. so and so is desirous of being initiated under the longlived Mr. so and so. The Samgha initiates Mr so and so under the teachership (Upādhyāyatva) of Mr. so and so. The long-lived, to whom the initation of Mr. so and so under the teachership of Mr so and so is acceptable, may remain silent. To whom, it is not acceptable, let him speak'.

Anuśrāvana

'I speak the same thing for the second time. Let the Samgha hear me. Mr so and so is desirous of being initiated under the teachership of longlived Mr. so and so etc. To whom it is not acceptable, let him speak '

'It is acceptable to the Samgha. Therefore, it is silent, I understand'[2]

Dhārana

Legality or otherwise of the Proceedings

A detailed account of how the monks should do business in the assembly, which may not be illegal or irregular, is given in the words of the Buddha himself[3]

'If one performs, O Bhikkhus, a Natti-Dutiya act with one Natti and does not proclaim a Kammavāchā, such an act is unlaw-

1. Ibid. Pp. 105-6.
2. The Eng. rendering is that of the present author.
3. Vinayapitaka (Sarnath Hindi Ed.), Pp. 301ff.

ful. If one performs, O Bhikkhus, a Natti-Dutiya act with two Nattis and does not proclaim a Kammavāchā.........with one Kammavāchā, and does not propose a natti.........with two Kammavāchās and does not propose a natti, such an act is unlawful. If one performs, O Bhikkhus a Natti-Chattutha act with one Natti and does not proclaim a Kammavāchā, such an act is unlawful. If one performs, O Bhikkhus, a Natti-Chatuttha act with two (etc.)[1] . .'.

Kammavāchā, it is clear, was the actual moving of the resolution by the mover. In that process it was meant to be heard by the assembly and so it was called Anuśrāvana also. Natti was necessary for as many times as the pratijñā was moved and its Kammavāchā made. It could not, however be moved for more than three times because the third moving of the proposal was deemed to serve the last opportunity for its regular and full discussion.

The decisions in the assembly were made through the method of voting Vote was called Chhanda, meaning 'Wish' or 'desire'. This technical term, Chhanda, suggests that the members of the assembly were 'Svachhanda', i.e., fully self-dependent and free in matters of expressing their opinion or voting on any given matter.

Voting

The votes of all the members, who had the right to sit in the assembly but could not be present on account of any illness or any other disability, were carefully and scrupulously collected If this was not done, all the proceedings were liable to be declared irregular[2] Such votes of the absentees, however, could be counted only on the express will of the assembly, and in case of an otherwise opinion they were rejected[3]. The absentee members, it seems, were entitled to vote through deputies, but the ideal was that every member should be present. Even the sick monks were advised by the Buddha to be present in the assemblies. Being present there, they could utilize the services of

1. Vinayapitaka, Mahāvagga, IX 1 6-8, Eng Trans by Rhys Davids and Oldenberg SBE Vol. XVII. Pp. 265 ff
2. Vinayapitaka, Mahāvagga, IX. 1. 9 (Sarnath Hindi Ed., P. 302).
3. Ibid. IX 1 10 (Sarnath Hindi Ed. P 303.)

other capable and physically fit Bhikkhus to address or communicate their views to the congregation[1]. In cases, where the methods regarding voting were not fully followed, the whole proceedings could be declared null and void[2].

It was expected that the decisions of the assembly would be unanimous. But individual opinion and sense of independence were often visible and unanimity was not always possible. In that case the majority-vote carried the day, because in the event of difference of opinion, the Buddha decided in favour of 'Yadbhūyasikā, i.e., 'the majority method[3]'. Fortunately, one such example of a decision by the majority in a political assembly is known. The occasion was the attack of Viḍūdabha on the Śākyan capital, Kapilavastu. "So the king sent a messenger to the Śākyas, saying, 'Sirs, although I have no fondness for you, yet I have no hatred against you It is all over; so open your gates quickly, Then the Śākyas said, 'let us all assemble and deliberate, whether we shall open the gates'. When they had assembled, some said, 'open them', others advised not doing so. Some said, 'as there are various opinions, we will find out the opinion of the majority'. So they set about voting on the subjects"[4].

Votes were cast through salākās, (Sk. Śalākās), i.e., wooden pins,[5] which used to be coloured in different hues to denote varying sides[6] The coloured Śalākās representing two or more opinions, were placed before each member by the Śālākāgrāhaka, who asked him to choose one, which represented his opinion and leave those, which did not represent his side or stand[7] The Śalākāgrāhaka worked as the teller of the votes, collected the Śalākās, counted them, and declared the result to the house. It is obvious, he bore a great responsibility and must have been a person, who

1. Ibid. X. 3.1 (Sarnath Hindi Ed P 336)
2. Ibid IX. I 9 (Sarnath Hindi Ed. P. 302).
3. Ibid. P. 402.
4. Rockhill, The Life of the Buddha, Pp. 118-9.
5. Cf. Hindu Polity, P. 95
6. Vinayapiṭaka (Sarnath Hindi Ed.) Pp. 414-5.
7. Ibid.

could command the confidence of all the sections of the house. The Buddha ruled that only that person could be selected as a Śalākāgrāhaka by the Saṁgha, who had five qualities in him. He was not to be partial, malicious, foolish, and afraid. Besides, he must have the capacity to remember as to which votes were collected and which were not collected[1].

There were three methods of voting in the Buddhist Samgha, viz. Gulhakam, i.e., the secret method; Sakaṇṇa-Jappakam, ie., the whispering method, and the Vivatakam, i.e., the open method. In the secret method, the Śalākāgrāhaka went to each monk separately and told him, 'This is the Śalākā representing this side and that is the Śalākā representing that side. Choose, whichever you like'[2]. The monk, having selected one, was asked not to show it to others. In the whispering method, the same thing was done by the śalākāgrāhaka through whispers in the ears of the members and they were asked not to divulge their choice to anyone else[3]. The open-method required of the Śalākāgrāhaka to declare the various sides of a case openly, show the respective Śalākās representing them, and conduct the whole process of voting without any secrecy[4].

In matters of discussion and voting full opportunities of presenting their cases and defending their positions was given to those, who were affected in any manner The Buddha desired that no controversies should arise in the Samgha and, therefore, chalked out various methods[5] Presenting the affected monks or party before the Samgha was one of those methods and if this was not done, the complete proceedings became liable to be declared irregular and void.

Opportunity to Defendants

Select Committees were appointed to decide those matters, which were likely to create tension and generate heat in the

1. Vinayapitaka, Chullavagga, IV. 24. (Sarnath Hindi Ed. P. 402).
2. Vinayapitaka, Chullavagga IV. 3.5 (Sarnath Hindi Ed. Pp. 414-5).
3. Ibid
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid. Pp 410-11.

assembly. Sometimes there came before the monks such questions and topics of discussion as to present real threats of schisms and divisions in the Samgha. So the Buddha enjoined, 'O Bhikkhus, if there is too much talk amongst the monks, while discussing a topic and no clear meaning is made out of what they say ; then I allow, 'O Bhikkhus', to decide such a topic in the Uvvāhikā (Sk. Udvāhikā), i.e., the select Committee[1]. Select committees, it is obvious, were meant to avoid unnecessary discussion in the assembly and it was expected of them to completely thrash out the given problems in all their aspects and bearings and place before the full assembly equitable and honest decisions. The members of the select committees bore great responsibilities and, like the Śalākāgrāhakas, they were required to possess a high sense of duty and standard of character Only those Bhikkhus were selected for the onerous duty of being members of an Udvāhikā, who were found to possess at least ten qualities[2] of (1) bearing good conduct and being versed in the knowledge and maintenance of discipline in the order, (2) being well-read and capable of assimilating as well as retaining that knowledge, (3) being versed in the Bhikkhu-Pātimokkha and the Bhikkhunī-Pātimokkha, (4) having steadfast devotion in the discipline, (5) being adept in solving problems by persuation, arguments, examples, and making both the plaintiff and defendant understand, (6) being adept in not allowing problems to be raised, (7) being capable of understanding the problems, (8) having the power to know the causes and origins of problems, (9) having the mental capacity to find out solutions of problems, and (10) having the power to devise ways and means so that problems may not arise at all.

Select Committees

The method of deciding controversies through select committees was meant to avoid 'pointless speeches' and confusion. But if the select committee itself got confused and divided, it referred back the given cases to the full assembly for disposal, where they were decided by the majority vote. However, such instances must

1. Ibid. P. 412.

2 Ibid.

have been very rare and the select committees, composed as they were of capable and intelligent people, could ordinarily be expected to dispose off their business rightly and to decide cases properly.

Dr. Jayaswal seems to be right in his opinion that "there used to be clerks or Recorders of the House",[1] who took down the minutes of the proceedings. The detailed rules of procedure and the methods of arriving at a decision on all given matters were so elaborate and varied that they must have been put in black and white for purposes of checking, verificaton and exactitude. The clerks seem to have been the only men to do that work of responsibility and precision.

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1. Hindu Polity, P. 98.

CHAPTER XI

SOCIETY

The Varṇa system

The most important feature of ancient Indian Society was its division into four main classes, the Varnas, as they are called. In those days it was a generally accepted system[1]. The reference to the springing of the varnas from the person of the cosmic man[2] points to some divine origin and implies that the four divisions had become so well-established that the people did not remember the time when those divisions came about. Consequently, they seem to have attributed them to God Himself. It seems pretty certain that originally the Indian society was functionally and organically based. It may be possible, however, that separate ethnic groups[3] might have something to do do with its divisions, but there was no sense of either superiority or inferioty about any one of those divisions and the social body-politic was considered as a whole in the beginning. The various Varnas were still open to all, "more based on individual traits and less upon descent [4]"

The later-Vedic literature-the Sūtras, the Dharmaśāstras, and the epics, particularly the Mahābhārata, divide the Indian society on the basis of functions. We are informed that learning, teaching, sacrificing both for one's own self as well as for others, and to give and accept

Division of Functions

1 Cf. Senart, Caste In India, P 214

2 ब्राह्मणोऽस्य मुखमासीदबाहू राजन्यः कृतः ।
उरु तदस्य यद्वैश्यः पद्भ्या शूद्रोऽजायत ।। Rig X. 90. 12

Zimmer (Colebroke, Miscellaneous Essays, Vol. I. P. 309 note) opined that the Puruṣa Sūkta is a later interpolation in the Rigveda and the institution of caste was not Rigvedic.

3. e.g., it is generally held that the Ṛigvedic Śūdras were non-Aryans, who were styled as Kriṣṇatvacha, Ayajvā, Anāsa, Amridhṛivācha, Adevayuh, and Avrata etc.

4. Cooley, Social Organisation. P. 239.

alms were the functions of a Brāhmana[1], learning, sacrificing, giving alms, and the protection of the people by arms were those of a Ksatriya[2]; agriculture, trade, cattle-rearing, usury, alms-giving, sacrificing and learning formed the duties of a Vaiśya[3]; and ungrudging service of the above three Varnas constituted the duty of a Śūdra[4]. The whole society, including the Jains and Buddhists[5], accepted these divisions of the functions of the four Varnas, which were interchangeable in the beginning With the progress of time, however, caste distinctions began to grow and intensify and flexibility gradually gave way to rigidity. Though the first three Varnas formed some sort of entity amongst themselves as

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1 षट्कर्माणि ब्राह्मणस्य। स्वाध्यायाध्यापन यजन याजन दान प्रतिग्रहश्चेति।
Vasistha Dharmaśāstra, II 13-14, Manusmriti, I 88, According to the Buddhists, the Brāhmanas were so named for their suppression of wickedness vide-Hardy, A Manual of Buddhism, P 68

2 त्रीणि राजन्यस्य । अध्ययन यज्ञो दान च ।
शस्त्रेण प्रजापालनं स्वधर्मस्तेन जीवति ॥
Vasistha Dharmaśāstra, II 15-17, Manusmriti, I 89, The Buddhists say that the Ksatriyas were so named because of the power they exercised over the cultivated lands, 'Khettam', vide-Hardy, op cit. P. 68, Rockhill, Life of Buddha, P 7

3. पशूना रक्षणदानमिज्याध्ययनमेव च ।
वणिक्पथ कुसीद च वैश्यस्य कृषिमेव च ॥
Manusmriti, I 90, Vasistha Dharmaśāstra, II 18-19, Mbh XII 60 23, Accumulation of wealth 'Wessa' gave them their name, according to the Buddhists, cf Hardy, op cit P 68

4 एकमेव तु शूद्रस्य प्रभु: कर्मसमादिशत् ।
एनेषामेव वर्णाना शुश्रूषामनसूयया ॥
Manusmriti, I 91, Vasiṣtha Dharmaśāstra, II 20, The Buddhists believe that on account of hunting they were known as Ludda or Sudda cf Hardy, op cit P. 68.

5 अञ्जेन अरियापठवि जनिन्दा, वेस्साकसि परिचारिञ्ञा् च सुद्दा ।
उपागुपञ्चेक यथापदेसं कथाहुएते वसिना' ति आहु ।
Jātaka (Fausboll's ed.), VI. P 207, The Tripitaka generally refers to the Vaiśyas as Grihapatis (Gahapatis), cf. R L Mehta, Pre-Buddhist India, P. 255.

against Śūdras and there was established more or less an uniformity of their functions[1], yet differences in ceremonials, rituals, as well as social and religious practices began to grow even amongst them[2]. Primacy of status was fixed in the descending order on Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras[3].

Caste distinctions

In course of time, the Śūdras began to suffer certain disabilities. Though they had some rights to perform sacrifices and study the Vedic, lore[4], certain restrictions were there, e g., they could neither recite and pronounce Vedic Mantras like Svāhā and Svadhā nor could practise penance. The punishment, which Śambūka, the Śūdra penancer met at the hands of Rāma, is a classical example[5]. There was no untouchability, however, and on some occasions even commensality with the Śūdras was allowed[6]. They suffered some disabilities probably because of their un-Aryan origin and for lack of certain sacraments, chiefly the Upanayana, which formed the most important educational foundation of the three higher Varnas. They were thus gradually relegated into an almost socially inferior and separate class as compared to the Dvijas-Brāhmanas, Ksatriyas, and Vaiśyas. An organised priesthood of the Brāhmanas, on the other hand, began to claim for itself a position of superiority, which the Ksatriyas sometimes contested[7]. In popular estimation, however, both were equally great

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1 अशूद्राणामदुष्टकर्मणामुपायन वेदाध्ययनमग्न्याध्येय फलवन्ति च कर्माणि। शुश्रूषा शूद्रस्येतरेषा वर्णानाम्। Āpa Ds I. 1.1 6-7

2. Ibid. I. 1.1.27 to I. 1.3.45 ; cf V.M. Apte, Social and Religious life in the Gṛhyasūtras, Pp. 6-7 , P N Prabhu, Hindu Social Organization, P. 295

3. चत्वारो वर्णा ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियवैश्यशूद्रा।
तेषा पूर्वः पूर्वो जन्मतः श्रेयान्॥ Āpa. DS I. 1.1.45.

4. Cf. V.M Apte, op. cit. P. 4 , Mbh. XII. 63.44-5.

5. VR. VII. chs. 73-6.

6. V M. Apte, op cit. P. 13

7. Ibid. Pp. 4-5.

The most glaring weakness of the growing complexities and orthodoxies, theorizations notwithstanding[1], was the fixation of caste by birth, in which the higher castes could in times of emergency adopt the functions of the lower castes[2] but not vice-versa. People were generally tied down to the respective occupations of their own castes or subcastes. The old practice of change of caste on account of change in profession, though not impossible[3], became now very difficult.

The Buddhist protests

Superficially it may sometimes appear that the Buddha did not at all believe in the Brāhmanic Varna-theory, but really it was not so. The Buddhist works are full of references, which prove that it was as much accepted by him[4] and his followers as by the upholders of the Brāhmaṇic religion.

Two things, however, stand out as most important. Firstly, the great teacher attached no importance to the birth of a person and consequently, of caste on that score What he preached was that it is the virtues, the qualities, and the actions that decide one's caste[5]. Accordingly, a Brāhmana must be high-born from both the sides of his parents, a teacher of the Vedas, knower of the Mantras, proficient in the three Vedas, of pleasing appearance, of good

Emphasis on Virtues

1. In theory the Varṇas were still decided by functions Cf Mbh XII. 189 5-8
2 Manusmriti,X 81-116; Mbh XII 78 1-2
3. Cf P N Prabhu, Hindu Social Organization, Pp. 319-322.
4. Cf. Fick, social organization in North-East India, Pp. 19 and 31.
5 Cf SN. Sarnath Hindi Ed, I Pp 133, 134, 214; MN (Vāsettha Suttanta), DN (agañña Sutta), Sundarika Bhāradvāja Sutta of the Sutta-nipāta, Sarnath Ed, Pp 92-3 In the Vāsetṭha Suttanta of the Sutta-Nipāta he says .—

न चाहं ब्राह्मण ब्रूमि योनिज मत्तिसभवम् ।
भोवादि नाम सो होति सचेहोति सकिञ्चनो ।
अकिञ्चन अनादान तमहं ब्रूमि ब्राह्मणम् ।
तपेन ब्रह्मचरियेन सयमेन दमेन च ।
एतेन ब्राह्मणो होति, एत ब्राह्मणमुत्तमम् ।।

conduct, a Paṇḍita, a man of sharp intellect, and first or second of those, who accept the sacrificial alms[1]. He refused to concede their greatness, and, as a matter of fact, of the Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas too, which they claimed on account of their birth alone, if they indulged in violence to animal life, theft, misconduct, and lying or were of bad intent and did things in a wrong, un-Aryan, and black way, which generated undesirable results[2]. It should not be understood, however, that he disliked the Brāhmanas or protested against them as a whole. What he really abhorred was their fall from the high position and great moral character, they had once attained. He attacked only those, who were later styled, a bit contemptuously, as Brāhmanabandhus[3]. It is fit to refer in this respect to the Brāhmanadhammika Sutta of the Sutta-nipāta[4] and Lohichha Sutta of the Samyutta Nikāya[5], where the Lord is shown to have been full of respect, praise, and admiration for the Brāhmanas of the past. In his opinion, good conduct, virtuous character, and a high moral standing could elevate even a Śūdra, Chāndāla, or a Pukkusa to the highest position of universal respect[6] and they all become equals in the world of gods[7].

The second thing to which the Buddha held fast was his giving the position of primacy and precedence[8] to the Ksatriyas

1. DN Sonadanda Sutta, Sutta Nipāta (Sarnath Ed), P. 104, Jātaka (fausboll's Ed), Vol. IV, P. 303. The Śatapatha Brāhmana (XI. 5.7.1) prescribes four characteristics of a Brāhmana, viz Brahmanical Parentage (Brāhmanyam), suitable behaviour (Pratirūpacharyā), attainment of fame (Yaśas) and teaching of men
2. DN. agañña Sutta.
3. Ait. Brā VII. 27
4. Sarnath Ed, Pp. 57-63
5. Sarnath (Hindi) Ed., Pt II P 499
6. MN, Madhuriya Suttanta; SN, Sarnath Hindi Ed., Pt. I P. 133.
7. cf. Silavimamsa Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed.), Vol. III. Pp. 104-5. The Buddha says in the Sundarika Bhāradvāja Sutta of the Sutta-Nipāta :
   मा जातिं पुच्छ चरण च पुच्छ, कट्ठाहवे जायति जातवेदो ।
   नीचा कुलीनोपि मुनीधितीमा, आजानियो होति हिरीनिसेधो ॥
   Sarnath Ed. P. 92.
8. Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed.), Vol. I. P. 32-6, III P 194, IV Pp. 205-303.

over the Brāhmanas, and thus naturally over the Vaiśyas and Śūdras as well. It seems there lurked a certains softness in his heart for the Ksatriyas. It might be either because he himself was a Ksatriya or because of the excessive pride, reaching sometimes the borders of haughtiness, which the Śakyas possessed in their own origin[1] He seems to have inherited that pride, which, despite all his Buddhahood, he could not do away with Thus, for example, when Ambastha[2] made a complaint against the haughtiness of the Śākyas to him, he tried to find fault with and show the baseness of the latter's origin, which, according to him was mixed. He preached the greatness of virtues and pure actions against mere birth, and applied the tests of character, high moral and virtuous conduct, and good actions for judging the claims of greatness[3] put forward by the Brāhmanas. But in plain contradiction to his teachings, he could not cast away that essentially Brāhmanic sense of superiority by birth in holding that by even birth alone it were the Ksatriyas, who were the highest[4] We are further told that the Brāhmana families were great but those of the Ksatriyas were the first and the greatest and that is why the Buddha chose one of them[5] for his birth.

Kṣatriyas given the position of primacy

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1 See ante. Ch VII

2. Cf. Ambattha Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya Śākyan haughtiness is further referred to in Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed.), Vol. IV Pp. 145ff. According to Manu also (IX.13), Ambaṣṭhas were a mixed caste, born of Brāhmana males and Vaiśya females

3. DN, Agañña Sutta, SN Sarnath Hindi Ed, Pt I.P 133.

4 DN. (Bom Uni Pub), Pt I. P 111 says

इति खो अम्बट्ठ, यदा'पि खत्तियो परमनिहीनत्त यतो होति तदा'पि खत्तिया एवसेट्ठा, हीना ब्राह्मणा। ब्रह्मुनापि एसा अम्बट्ठ सनकुमारेणगाथा भासिता—खत्तियो सेट्ठो जने तस्मि ये गोत्त-पटिसारिनो। विज्जाचरण सम्पन्नो सो सेट्ठो देव-मानुसे'ति ॥

Almost the same verse occurs in the SN., VI. 2.1; Fick (op. cit. P. 85) suggests that it was a reaction against the Brāhmaṇas' parade of superiority

5. Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed), Vol I P. 49; Lalitavistara, Ch. III

The impression must not be had, however, that the Brāhmaṇa class as a whole had deviated from the standard or the ideal, which the Brāhmaṇic and Buddhist literature enjoins upon them. Despite the fact that a vast number of them lived by un-Brāhmaṇic professions and remained Brāhmanas only in name and birth[1], the number of those, who could really come up to standard, was not inconsiderable They still claimed and perhaps enjoyed many a privilege from the society, e.g., Archā, Dāna, Ajeyatā, and Avadhyatā, i.e., honour, gifts, unmolestibility, and freedom from being killed[2] respectively They are commonly spoken of as upright and religious-minded[3] The kings showed great consideration and liberality to them. Prasenajita is often spoken[4] of as having granted villages to learned and virtuous Brāhmanas, Brahmadeyas, as they were called, with all their income, for which the grantees were not liable to taxes. This might have given wealth to them[5], to which a reference is made in the Samyutta Nikāya[6] The respect that they ordinarily commanded from the common people was very great and feeding and/or giving alms to them on social and religious occasions were considered sacred actions[7]. They stood in equal rank with the Ksatriyas and the two had the right "to the salute, the seat to be offered, the extension of the folded hands, and the service to be rendered[8]".

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1. ब्राह्मणो नाम जातिया ब्राह्मणो । Vinayapitaka, Nissaggiya, X 2 1.
2. ब्राह्मण भुनक्तु अर्चया दानेनचाज्येयतया चावध्यतया च ॥ Śat. Brā., XI 5 7 1
3. धम्मिका होन्ति ब्राह्मणा । Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed.), VI. P 554, Magasthanes divided the philosophers (one of the seven castes) into Brāhmanas and Śramanas and said that the former commanded greater respect than the latter vide-M'crindle's Ant. India P. 65, Rockhill, Life of Buddha, P 8
4. See ante P. 227. Magasthanes speaks of Brāhmanas being freed from all taxes by Chandragupta Maurya for putting forth their knowledge, beneficial to the state or society M'crindle's Ant India. PP. 47-8.
5. cf Fick, Op cit., P 210, R. L Mehta, Pre-Buddhist India, P 248.
6. SN., III 1 3.
7. Cf. R L. Mehta, Op. cit., P 246, V M. Apte, Op. Cit., Pp. 8-9.
8. Kannatthalka Sutta, MN., Sarnath (Hindi) Ed., P. 369; Refer also to Fick, op. cit., Pp. 190ff.; Rockhill, op. cit. P.8.

Mixed Castes

The Sūtra period saw the rise of certain mixed castes, which came to be specifically classified by the days of Manu. They were chiefly the result of Anuloma and Pratiloma marriages or connections. Thus we are informed by the Vasistha[1] Dharmaśāstra that those begotten of Śūdra males in Brāhmana, Ksatriya, and Vaiśya females would be respectively styled as Chāndālas, Vainas, and Antyāvasāyis, those begotten by Vaiśya fathers into Brāhmana and Kṣatriya mothers would be known as Rāmakas and Pulkasas respectively; and those begotten of Ksatriya (Rājanya) fathers and Brāhmana mothers would be Sūtas[2]. The castes, born of Pratiloma connections, were not allowed the ceremonial and sacrificial rituals[3] We are further told that the children of Brāhmana fathers and Vaiśya mothers, of Brāhmana males and Śūdra females, and of Ksatriya fathers and Śūdra mothers were respectively styled as Ambasthas, Nisādas, and Ugras[4]. References to these mixed castes are not only made in the Hindu Dharmaśāstric literature[5] of

Inter-caste connections

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1. शूद्रेण ब्राह्मण्यामुत्पन्नश्चाण्डालो भवतीत्याहुः ।
   राजन्यायावैंण. । वैश्यायामन्त्यावसायी ॥ 1. XVIII 1-3,
   The Manusmriti says (X. 11-12) that the progeny of a Ksatriya father and a Brāhmana mother would be a Sūta, that of a Vaiśya male and a Ksatriya female would be a Māgadha, and that of a Vaisya husband and a Brāhmana wife would be a Vaideha
2. वैश्येन बाह्मण्यामुत्पनो रामको भवतीत्याहु ।
   राजन्याया पुल्कस । राजन्येन ब्राह्मण्यामुत्पन्न सूतो भवतीत्याहु ।
   Vasiṣtha Dhamaśāstra XVIII. 4-6
3. छन्नोत्पन्नाश्च ये केचित्प्रातिलोम्यगुणाश्रिता. ।
   गुणाचारपरिभ्रंशात्कर्मभिस्तान्विजानीयुरिति ॥ Ibid XVIII 7
4. एकन्तराद्व्यन्तराभ्यन्तरासु जाता ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियवैश्यैरम्बष्ठोग्रनिषादा भवन्ति । Ibid. XVIII 8, Manusmriti, X 8-9 The offspring of a Vaiśya male and a Śūdra female is sometimes called a Rathakāra cf. V.M. Apte. Op. cit. P 15.
5. Refer, for example, to Gautama DS., IV. 16-18; Manusmriti (Ch. X) refers to as many as fifty seven mixed castes.

ancient India but in the Buddhist literature[1] as well. The most important of those were[2] the Pukkusas, the issues of Nisāda fathers and Śūdra mothers; Venas, the progenies of Vaidehaka fathers and Ambaṣṭha mothers; and Kaivartas, the progenies of Niṣādas with Āyogava women.

Social disabilities

There are grounds to believe that these mixed castes were by no means in enviable positions. The Chāndālas—progenies of Brāhmana mothers and Śūdra fathers, were the greatest sufferers. They were forced[3] to live outside common habitats and meekly submit to various other disabilities and indignities[4], which gradually reduced them to untouchability[5] Further, we are told in the Samyutta Nikāya that the Chāndāla, Vena, Nisāda, Rathakāra, and Pukkusa families had to suffer many economic hardships besides the social ones[6]. They were very poor in comparison to other castes and were hardpressed to earn their livlihood even. They are said[7] to have looked pale, unpleasing in appearance, sickly, stunted, one-eyed, severed of limbs, lame, and decrepit because they could not get sufficient food, drinks, clothes, conveyances, beds, ungents, houses, and light etc, i e, the basic requirements of life The Pukkusas (the descendants of Nisādas with Śūdra women)[8], who were one of the above despised castes[9], lived by sweeping flowers that

1 MN, Sarnath Hindi Ed., Pp 386-90 and 535, SN., Sarnath Hindi Ed, Pt I P 83
2. cf Fick, op cit, Pp 6-7
3. Manusmriti, X 51 ff, Jātaka IV. (Fausboll's Ed), Pp 376 and 390
4 Cf Fick, op cit., Pp 318ff, R L. Mehta, Op Cit. Pp 262ff
5 That the Chāndālas had to suffer the odium of untouchability is also known from a Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed.), Vol II. P 82, cf Fick, Op. Cit, Pp 41-5 Originally, however, they don't seem to have been permanently cast to their low status The Amba Jātaka (Cowell's Eng. Ed IV Pp 125-7) refers to the Chāndāla-teacher of a Brāhmana. Similar is the tenor of the Setaketu Jātaka (Cowell's Eng. Ed. III. Pp 154-5).
6 Sarnath Hindi Ed, Pt. I P. 83.
7. Ibid
8. Manusmriti, X. 18
9 AN., (PTS), Pt. II. P 85 and MN. (PTS.), Pt. II. P. 152

were "offered at Shrines" but were not removed "by the devotees, who gave them[1]". Richard Fick believed them to have been non-Aryans, who "lived generally by hunting and only occasionally by dirty work, like cleaning temples and palaces[2]". The Niṣādas, who were the descendants of Brāhmanas with Śūdra women,[3] lived by catching fish and hunting in general[4]. Venas were bamboo-workers and Rathakāras, the carriage—builders[5].

Slavery

Slavery was recognised by the Society. Slaves were of seven kinds, viz. those, who were conquered in war; who had accepted slavery on account of personal devotion; who were born in slaves' families; who were purchased; who were given in dowry or present; who were obtained as part of heredity; and those, who became slaves under punishment.[6] Richard Fick[7] furnishes many examples of these types of slaves from the Jātakas. Slaves in India were, however, not like the helots of Greece. They were more or less servants and had many a right including the right to freedom, whenever the terms of their slavery, e.g., punishment or the stipulated period of slavery in fulfilment of a debt or some such other conditions, expired[8] There are various Jātakas,[9] which refer to slaves but their position was by no means irretrievable

1 cf DPPN, II P 214, Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed.), Vol III. P 195.

2. op cit P. 321.

3 Manusmriti, X 8, C V Vaidya (Epic India, P 6) thought the Nisādas to have been Dravidians

4. R.L Mehta, op. cit. P. 263, मत्स्यघातोनिषादाना त्वष्टिस्त्वायोगवस्य च ।। Manusmriti, X 48

5. R L Mehta, op cit. P 265

6. ध्वजाहृतो भक्तदासो गृहज. क्रीतदत्त्रमौ ।
पैतृको दण्डदासश्च सप्तैते दासयोनय. ।। Manusmṛiti, VIII. 415.

7 op. cit Pp 307ff

8. DN (PTS), II Pp. 69ff., Winternitz, Hist Ind Lit, II P. 71; I B. Horner, Women under Primitive Buddhism, Pp. 84-5; The Sona-Nanda Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed, Vol V P 313) speaks of the freed slaves of a Brāhmana

9 Refer to Katāhaka Jātaka, Fausboll's Ed, I. Pp 451ff, Kalanduka Jātaka, Fausboll's Ed, Vol. I Pp. 458-9, Uddalaka Jātaka, Fausbolls. Ed., Vol. IV PP. 298ff, MN Sarnath Hindi Ed., P. 163.

Marriage

Marriage has been since very ancient times an important feature of the Hindu civilization and culture and a source of strength in its various vicissitudes. It has been one of those Indian social institutions, which have continued to this day with all their historical growth. It is treated as one of the greatest religious and social sanctities.[1] We propose to examine here some of its aspects that generally held good in Kośala within the period of our enquiry. As that period is sufficiently large-covering more than a hundred generations before the Mauryas, no single condition or peculiarity can be said to have been true for the whole of it and for clearer understanding distinctions would have to be made between the primitive and developed, earlier and later, or simple and complex.

Examples of the simplicity of the Rigvedic marriage institution do not come our way very easily, but it can be presumed that originally there were less of ceremonials, dowry, and technicalities Marriages of grown-up brides and bride-grooms were the norm, where ample opportunities for the female side to choose were offered. When young but understanding couples had reached mutual agreements,[2] parental permission came just for the asking. Svayamvara, as that self-choice was called, was an accepted institution. We are informed that Māndhātā, when asked by an old sage, Saubharī, to give him one of his (Māndhātā's) daughters in marriage, took up the plea of Svayamvara (as he did not like that any one of his fifty daughters should be given to such an old man, as the sage was). But when that sage was ultimately chosen not by only one but all the fifty,

Svayamvara

1. One, who was unmarried, had no right to sacrificing Thus says the Taitt Brā (II 2 2-6)

"अयज्ञो वा एष योऽपत्नीक·"

Aparārka in his commentary on the Yājñavalkya Smṛiti (1 51) says :—

अपत्नीको नरो भूप कर्मयोग्यो न जायते ।

Marriage was treated as a pre-requisite for the fulfilment of a householder's duties and the attainment of the four Puruṣārthas.

2. cf. Rig X. 27.11 , Therigāthā, Vss. 464, 465,472, and 479 ; Kuṇāla Jātaka (Fausboll's ed), Vol. V. Pp. 426-7.

he readily fulfilled his promise and gave them to Saubhari in marriage.[1] Other prominent cases of Svayamvara were those of Aja by Indumatī[2] and of Rāma by Sītā.[3] Settlement of marriages by parents, however, seems to have become the general practice with the growth of time.[4] There were no child-marriages in the early stages of our history.[5]

Dr. S. C. Sirkar has fully ransacked the ancient Indian tradition to prove the prevalence of promiscuity in ancient India.

Some primitive marriage Customs

According to him, incestuous conduct was not then looked down upon Thus, for example, he has tried to find out[6] the prevalence of sister-marriages in the cases of Yama and Yamī[7], Manu (Vivasvāna's son) and Śraddhā[8], Driṣadvatī and Kriśāśva-Aksayāśva[9] (brothers), Purukutsa and Narmadā[10], Anśumāna and Yaśodā[11], Daśaratha and Kauśalyā[12], and Sītā and Rāma and/or Laksamana[13].

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1 C.V Vaidya (Epic India P. 85) said that Svayamvara was chiefly popular with the Ksatriyas
2. Raghuvamśa, V 39ff
3. VR I Chs. 66ff.
4. One hundred daughers of Kuśanābha said to Vāyu, who was overwhelmed by Cupid —

मा भूत्सकालो दुर्मेध: पितरं सत्यवादिनम् ।
अवमन्य स्वधर्मेण स्वयंवरमुपास्महे ।।
पिता हि प्रभुरस्माकं दैवतं परमं च न. ।
यस्य नो दास्यति पिता स नो भर्त्ता भविष्यति ।। VR. 32 21-2

5 S C. Sirkar, Some Aspects of the Earliest Social History of India, P 91, R L Mehta, op cit P. 277, C V Vaidya, op. cit Pp. 197ff
6. op. cit. P. 74
7. cf. Rig. X. 10 Though not an example from Kośalan history, it is one of the important cases.
8. cf S.C Sirkar, op. cit. P. 118.
9. Ibid P 123.
10. Ibid. Pp. 123-4.
11. Ibid. P. 125.
12. Ibid. Pp. 125-6.
13. Ibid. Pp. 150-1. In this case the reference is to the Buddhist Dasaratha Jātaka.

Further, according to him, examples of parental incest[1] and polyadry[2] also could be found. It is needless to enter here into any detailed discussion or criticism of his arguments, which sometimes seem to be far-fetched. We may just say in agreement with Dr. Winternitz that it has certainly not to be concluded "that the Ṛisis of old did not see anything wrong in such connections as that of Prajāpati with his daughter or of Pūṣan with his mother and sister" and that "the stories told in the late Jātaka commentary, not in the old Jātaka Gāthās, about Rāma and Sītā cannot prove that Sītā was common wife of Rāma and Lakṣhamana nor that Sītā was their sister as well as their wife"[3]. It cannot be claimed, however, that endogamic marriages were unknown. Thier latest examples are found in the stories regarding the origin of the Śākyas[4] and the custom of intermarriages between the jamilies of their two branches of Kapilavastu and Devadaha[5]. But promiscuity seems to have been ruled out[6] with the advent of even the first symptoms of settled cultural life Public disapproval and abhorence about marital or sexual connections between near relations is abundantly proved from some of the cases that are often quoted to show their historicity, e.g., the strong and scathing pleas of Yama[7] against Yamī's proposal for marriage or the biting sarcasm of the Koliyas against the Śākyas, who were their very close relatives. The Śākyan origin was derisively likened by the Koliyas to those of

1. Ibid P. 136.
2. Ibid Pp 146-162
3. Cf Introductory And Critical Note to Dr S.C. Sirkar's book op. cit. pP VII ff.
4. DN (Bom. Uni Pub), Pt I Pp. 103-4, Mahāvastu, Vol. I P. 351, Sumangalavilāsinī, Vol I. Pp 258-60, Introduction to the Kunāla Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed., Vol. V Pp 412-3), Suttanipāta commentary (PTS), Vol. II. Pp. 356ff , Thomas, The Life of Buddha, Pp 10ff
5 Cf Thomas, The Life of Buddha, P. 25.
6. R B. Pandey, Hindu Saṁskāras, Pp. 269-270; Westermarck, History of Human Marriage, Pp. 133-149; Howard, History of Matrimonial Institution, Pp. 90-1.
7. Rig., X.10.

dogs[1] and bitches or pigs. If there were promiscuous cases at all they must have happened only under primitive conditions, which serve only as reminders of the distant past. The system of marriages between cousins does not seem to have been long into use, though marriages with maternal uncles' daughters[2] were not forbidden till quite late in the period of our enquiry.

Polygamy

Theoretically the main purpose of Hindu marriage has been the procreation of children[3] so that one could fulfil his Dharma towards the manes and the human line could continue. Ordinarily only one marriage was necessary for that purpose and monogamy was the general rule[4], which most people seem to have followed But polygamy was not unknown. As there were no prescriptions or limits to the number of children, one could go in for as many wives as one wished for or could maintain. Polygamy, however, was mostly popular with the wealthy Vaiśya caste or the Ksatriya aristocracy and only rarely with the Brāhmanas and Śūdras. The reasons or occasions for it were generally the barrenness of the first wife[5], the breach of the conditions of the first marriage[6], desire for having

1. Introduction to the Kunāla Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed.), Vol. V Pp. 412-3 says —
कोलियकम्मंकरावदन्ति, 'तुम्हे कवासिके गहेत्वा गच्छथयेसोणसिगालादयो वियअत्तनो भगिनीहि् सद्धि वसिसु एतेस हत्थिअस्सादयो वा फलकायुधानि वा अम्हाकं कि करिस्सन्ती'ति'
etc., Refer also to Hardy, op cit P. 318
2. e g, The marriage of Vājirā and Ajātaśatru, Mahāvagga VIII 1 2 3, The Asilakkhana and Mudupāni Jātakas (Fausboll's Ed, Vol I P 457 and II P. 327), however, testify to the system of marriages between cousins.
3 Cf. R B. Pandey, Hindu Samskāras, Pp 397-400, P. N. Prabhu, Op. Cit., P. 197
4 Āpa. GS II 5 11, 12-14
5 Manusmriti, IX. 81, Arthaśāstra, BK. III. 2. 47ff.
6. Manusmriti (IX. 73) speaks of the annulment of a marriage, in which the shortcomings of the bride are withheld from being known. He thus implies a second marriage

more than an ordinary number of children[1], victory in war-where women were treated as war-booty[2], and unhappy conjugal relationships under monogamy. Generally people went in for more than one marriage[3] because of the lack of sons. A fairly good number of examples of polygamy from Kośalan history can be cited. Manu[4], Ikṣvāku[5], Māndhātā[6], Hariśchandra[7], Sagara[8], Daśaratha[9], Prasenajita[10] or Śuddhodana[11] were only the most prominent Aikṣvākus, who practised polygamy. Rāma and his brothers were monogamous and they represented the general mass of the people, who sincerely believed in monogamy and practised it.

Despite the growing and common practice of marriages within the same caste, inter-caste marriages were not unknown.

Inter-caste marriages

The Anuloma sysem, that allowed a Brāhmaṇa, Ksatriya, or a Vaiśya-the three 'Dvija' castes, to respectively marry below their own caste[12] had

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1. बहवीरपि विन्देत पुत्रार्था हि स्त्रिय. ।
   Arthaśāstra, Bk , III 2 52-53 Kauṭilya puts some limitations, however, with regard to such marriages in as much as he enjoins upon one, who wants to go in for more than one marriage, to partwith all the fees (Śulka) and property (Strīdhana) of the first marriage as well as give adequate subsistence to all of his married wives Ibid III. 2 52.
2. Cf C V Vaidya, Op Cit. Pp 74-5
3. Cf P. N Prabhu, Op Cit., P 198 , Arthaśāstra, Bk III 2 49
4. Mait Sam I. 5 8
5. Iksvāku had evidently a large number of sons, who settled on both the sides of the Vindhyāchala, i.e , in Uttarāpatha and Dakṣiṇāpatha. See ante. P 116
6. His fifty daughters, who were married to Saubharī, must have been from more than one wife
7. Cf. H C Raychaudhuri, PHAI P. 162
8. HV. I 15 2-3 , Vāyu, 88 155-160 , Br 8 63-64 , Bḍ III 63 154-9.
9. The number of his wives is variously given, such as 360 or 365 (one for each day in a year) or even 16000 (cf. Dasaratha Jātaka, No 461), which is patently exaggerated Only three-Kauśalyā, Sumitrā and Kaikeyī were, however, popular and are known by name.
10. He had at least five wives. See. ante Pp. 217-218
11. Māyā and Prajāpati, the two sisters, are known to have been his wives. cf. Thomas, The Life of Buddha, Pp 25-26.
12. सवर्णाग्रे द्विजातीना प्रशस्तादारकर्मणि ।
    कामतस्तु प्रवृत्तानामिमा: स्यु: क्रमशोऽवरा: ।। Manusmṛiti, III. 12.

a socio-legal basis. This was not the case with Pratiloma marriages and so males of castes in the descending order could not marry females from those of the ascending order[1]. The Lalitavistara[2] tells us of Śuddhodana's proposition of finding out a maiden of proper and noble qualities for the Kumāra (Siddhārtha or Sarvārthasiddha, the future Buddha) from whichever Varna she may have been born in. Māndhātā, Renu, and Daśaratha gave the hands of their daughters to Saubharī[3], Jamadagni[4], and Risyaśringa[5] respectively, who were all Brāhmana sages. Prasenajita married a garland-maker's daughter[6], the famous Mallikā of the Buddhist tradition.

Examples of widow-remarriage are not known, But there are scholars[7], who believe that such cases happened in those ancient days, and they seem to be right. Remarriages of child-widows were certainly recognised. Some of the conditions actually laid down[8] for such

Widow remarriage

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1. शूद्रस्य तु सवर्णैव नान्या भार्या विधीयते ।
Ibid IX 157, Refer also to Sigāla Jātaka No 152
2. यस्या एते गुणा सविद्यन्ते, क्षत्रियकन्यायाा वा ब्राह्मणकन्यायाा वा वैश्यकन्यायाा वा शूद्रकन्यायाा वा, ता कन्यकामस्माक प्रतिवेदय । तद्कस्माद्हेतो । नहि कुमारो कुलार्थिको नगोत्रार्थिको । गुणार्थिक एव कुमार. ॥ Ed Lefmann 1902, Ch 12 P 139.
3. Viṣ. IV 2 77ff, Bhāg IX 38 55, Padma VI. 16 33-82, Gḍ. I. 138 23.
4. Br, 10. 50-51, Bḍ III. 66.60-1, Viṣ. IV 7 35, Bhāg. IX. 15 12, Pad VI 268 8.
5. Cf. A D Pusalker, HCIP Vol I. (Vedic Age) Pp 290, 292.
6. cf DPPN. II Pp 455-7, Introuction to Jātaka No. 77 and to Kummāsapiṇḍa Jātaka, No 415
7. e g Miss I.B. Horner, op cit, Pp. 61-62; S C. Sirkar (op cit, P 188) seems to have put under this category Satyavrata Triśanku's marriage with the Vidarbha Princess
8. अद्भिर्वाचा च दत्ताया म्रियेतादौ वरो यदि ।
न च मन्त्रोपनीता स्यात्कुमारी पितुरेव सा ॥
बलाच्चेत्प्रहृता कन्या मन्त्रैर्यदि न सस्कृता ।
अन्यस्मैविधिवद्देया यथा कन्या तथैव सा ॥
पाणिग्राहे मृते बाला केवलं मंत्रसस्कृता ।
सा चेतक्षतयोनिः स्यात्पुनः संस्कारमर्हतीति ॥ etc.
Vasiṣṭha Dharmaśāstra, XVII. 72-4 and XVII. 20.

remarriages were the death of the husband after betrothal, abduction, irregularity in the first marriage, death of the husband before consumation, impotency of the husband, or his outcasting by the society, and his going mad. They do not seem to have been, however, popular with the higher Varnas. It is evident that among the various reasons for the system of Niyoga (Levirate—by no means a regular marriage), which was allowed by the Dharmaśāstras[1] and examples of which are found[2], one was the consideration that issueless widows should be able to have sons to look after them and continue the family.

Dowry seems to have been prevalent in India since very early. It was constituted by whatever presents the parents gave to their newly married daughters going to their husbands' houses. It formed their personal and inalienable property[3]. Wealthy people gave various kinds of precious metals, jewels, clothes, food materials, other household-utensils, implements, and sometimes money[4]. Janaka gave to Sītā a daughter's portion (Kanyādhana), which comprised a hundred thousand cows, various clothes, elephants, horses, chariots, footmen, a hundred slaves-both males and females, gold, pearls, and emeralds[5]. We have already discussed in a previous context[6] as to how one of the Kāśī villages that had been given to Mahākosalā by her father as pin-money later became after her death a bone of contention between kośala and Magadha.

Dowry

The position of women in society

The position of women in society was an honoured one. It seems that with the progress of time they could not retain that

1 Manusmriti, IX 59-65.
2 Vasiṣtha's begetting a son (Aśmaka) in Madayantī, the queen of Mitrasaha, ie, Saudāsa Kalmāsapāda, is an important case of Kośalan history. Refer to VR 24. 12, Viṣ, IV. 4 71-2; Vāyu, 88.177; Bḍ., III. 63.177; Km., I. 21.12-13, Mbh. I. 122. 21-22.
3. VI. by Macdonell and Keith, I. P. 484.
4. Cf. DPPN, II. P. 901.
5. VR. I. 74. 3-6.
6. See ante. Pp 211-2.

absolute eqality of their position with men, which they enjoyed in the Vedic days. But to say that they became absolutely dependent either would not be quite correct. By the very nature of their sex they were circumscribed in their freedom for considerations of protection from all possible dangers. Perhaps for that very reason and also for considerations of warding off enemies, who must have been many and varied, the birth of a daughter was not as welcome as that of a son. Right thinking people, however, were always there to exert their influence against such social trends. Prasenajita, we are told[1], once felt very sad on the birth of a daughter to his beloved queen, Mallikā, but he was mildly admonished by the Buddha, who said a daughter could be as good, great, and beneficial as a son. The daughters got the same care, patronage, and love in the family as the sons[2] and under the Dharmaśāstric rules they had every right to get their marriages performed by their parents at proper age and with due ceremonials. Vedic studies seem to have been restricted, if not altogether stopped, in their case and as time went on they had no access to the sacraments involving Vedic Mantras, though they could get the education required to make them ideal housewives and attain general culture[3]. Still their privileges were great. They could on no account be killed[4].

Woman was the mistress of the household, where she shared with her husband full control over the household-property, children, servants, and general management. In fact, she was the only authority within the house and, when decisions had to be taken, she came second only to the husband, who was responsible for the maintenance of the family and the duties connected with that. She received the fullest respect in her capacity of the mistress of

1. SN. Sarnath Hindi Ed., Pt. I. P 78.
2 Piyajātika Suttanta, MN Sarnath Hindi Ed, 359-60
3 Cf V M Apte, op cit P. 44; P. N. Prabhu, op cit Pp. 139ff.; Ātreyī was one of the disciples of Vālmīki alongwith Lava and Kuśa cf P N Prabhu, of cit. P. 14
4. अवध्याः सर्वभूतानां प्रमदा क्षम्यतामिति ॥ VR. II. 78.21.

the house. She served her husband, regarded as her only refuge[1] and idol, but she had herself a right to service from many including her sons. For her sacrifices she was highly treated[2]. "Āpastamba pays a great compliment to women as authorities in customs and practices by ruling that 'one should learn from women, what ceremonies are required by custom in marriage. Again, Gobhila says 'even the wife may offer the morning and evening oblations[3], for the wife is, as it were, the house and that fire is the domestic fire[4]". Kālidāsa[5] records a tradition that when Agnivarna, the kośalan king died issueless, his ministers elevated her pregnant queen to the throne

As mother she was deemed to be the object of devotion, maintenance and good treatment by her children[6]. It was only

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1 नपिता नात्मजो नात्मा न माता न सखीजन. ।
इह प्रेत्य च नारीणा पतिरेको गतिः सदा ।। Ibid II. 27 5
साध्वीनां तु स्थिताना तु शीले सत्ये श्रुते स्थिते ।
स्त्रीणां पवित्र परम पतिरेको विशिष्यते ।। Ibid II 39 24.
Refer also to R L Mehta, op cit. Pp. 285 and 290.

2. Daśaratha said about Kauśalyā :
किं चैना प्रतिवक्ष्यामि कृत्वा हि प्रियमीदृशम् ।
यदा यदा च कौसल्या दासीवच्च सखीव च ।।
भार्यावद्भगिनीवच्च मातृवच्चोपतिष्ठति ।
सततं प्रियकामा मे प्रियपुत्रा प्रियवदा ।। VR II. 12. 68-9.
Aja wept for his dead wife, Indumatī in the following words .—
गृहिणी सचिवः सखी मिथः प्रियशिष्या ललिते कलाविधौ ।
करुणाविमुखेन मृत्युना हरता त्ववद किं न मे हृतम ।।
Raghuvamśa VIII. 67.

3. Kauśalyā is said to have been engaged in her morning prayers and oblations in the fire with the accompaniment of Mantras, when Rāma went to ask for her permission to go to the forest (VR. II. 20 14-16). Sītā is further said to have been regular in her morning prayers with Mantras (Ibid V 14 50).
4. Quoted from V.M Apte. op. cit. P. 43.
5. Raghuvamśa, IXX. 55-57.
6. SN Sarnath Hindi Ed., Pt. I.P, 143.

as widow that the Hindu woman suffered certain disabilities[1] and that has been perhaps the weakest spot of the Hindu society.

"In the pre-Buddhist days the status of women in India", says miss I.B. Horner[2], "was on the whole low and without honour. During the Buddhist epoch there was a change, Women came to enjoy more equality and greater respect and authority than ever hitherto accorded them". But historically, it seems, the case was opposite. As a matter of fact, the status of Indian women had been the highest in the Rigvedic days, it continued more or less at the peak during the first phases of the later-Vedic period but, as time passed, a gradual deterioration set in and their rights began to be circumscribed, whatever be the causes. At no time of Indian history, however, they were like mere chattels to be disposed of at the sweet will of men They were not confined to the four walls of the house in the early period, as became the case in the later days. They were as free as anybody, could compose Vedic hymns, learn the sacred lore, perform sacrifices[3], and even participate in penances with their husbands in the forests[4]. But once limitations began to be put on them, they began to grow and the Buddhist influence could in no way lessen them True, the Buddha said[5] that a female child can be as good, great, and beneficial as a male one and also that women have various kinds of strength[6], there are examples, where the valuation of women is very low in the Buddhist literature itself. Let alone the Jātakas, where[7] women are depicted as depraved, wicked, sensuous, slanderous, sinful and what not, the earlier texts even are not absolutely free from unflattering words about them. Thus, for example, the Samyutta

1 Cf P N Prabhu, op cit Pp 195-6
2 op cit P. 1-2
3 Cf P N Prabhu, Op Cit Pp 264 ff.
4. The Rāmāyana of Vālmīki gives us an example in this respect, viz Anusūyā performed penance with Atri (II Chs 117-8)
5 SN. Sarnath (Hindi) Ed, I P 78
6 Visārada Sutta, SN (Sarnath Hindi Ed), II P 556-7
7. Refer, for example, to Jātaka Nos 61-5; 269, 285 and 327 etc Miss Horner herself accepts this (op cit., P 50), Refer also to R. L Mehta, Op cit, Pp. 287-9.

Nikāya says, "Woman is the filth of celebacy[1]", "where men get themselves entangled". The Sappa Sutta[2] speaks of five disadvantages in a black snake and the same disadvantages in a woman. They are unclean, evil-smelling, timid, tearful, and they betray friends. Lord Buddha's own experience of women had not been always happy[3] and as a reaction, it seems, came his initial attitude of unwillingness to admit women to his order. He said[4], "If Ānanda, women had not received permission to go out from the household life and enter the homeless state under the doctrine and discipline proclaimed by the Tathāgata, then would the pure religion, Ānanda, have lasted long; the good law would have stood fast for a thousand years. But since Ānanda, women have now received their permission, the pure religion, Ānanda, will not last so long, the good law will now stand fast for only five hundred years[5]". The Master's words certainly do not require any further elucidation or comment and how prophetic they proved! Such ungenerous thoughts about women, however, are matched only in the Hindu Smritis[6] and who knows the latter might have been influenced by the fate of Buddhism in India? But it may be taken note of that in India there have for ever been two ways of evaluating things, one from the point of view of worldly life and the other from the angle of renunciation. Whenever the latter has come to the fore, women have suffered slanderous charges. The above descriptions of women, coming as they do from the

1. Sarnath Hindi Ed Pt. I P 39
2. AN. (PTS), Vol III P 260, Refer also to the Dulva (Rockhill, Life of Buddha, P 61, note 2) which says that "there are five kinds of dangerous serpents-the angry, the spiteful, the hating, the ungrateful, and the venomous one, so likewise there are five kinds of dangerous women-the angry, the spiteful, the hating, the ungrateful, and the venomous women"
3. Refer, for example, to the introduction of the Manisūkara-Jātaka, No. 285.
4. Vinayapitaka, Cullavagga, X 1.6, Refer also to the Dulva (Rockhill, Life of Buddha, P 61 and P 152) where Ānanda is found to have been severely reproached for pleading the case of women.
5. The English translation of the original Pāli Passage is just the same as adopted by Miss I.B. Horner, Op Cit P. 105.
6. e.g., Manusmriti, IX. 2ff

Buddha, who had renounced the world, may be treated at a slight discount. But one thing looks patent enough that men, while availing themselves of their own natural and physical advantages, have often shown aggressiveness in their evaluation of the women-folk and have many a time glossed over their own shortcomings[1].

Professions and occupations

Let it be made clear in the very beginning that despite the Dharmaśāstric prescriptions regarding specific professions and duties for the four Varnas, there was no hard and fast adherence to them by any caste. Originally, Society might have tried to put those prescriptions into practice but cent per cent success does not seem to have been ever attained. The Brāhmanas,[2] besides being priests, preceptors, philosophers, privy-councillors, ministers of state, sooth-sayers, conjurers, astrologers, physicians, sacrificers, and fortune-tellers, were agriculturists,[3] carpenters,[4] traders[5] and huntsmen[6] with snares and nets. Kṣatriya teachers like Śvetaketu,[7] the Pāñchāla king, were not unknown and "like the Brāhmanas the Khattiya also could and did employ himself in any occupation he liked without any restriction of class consciousness[8]".

The Rāmāyana of Vālmīki speaks[9] of jewellers (Manikāras), potters (Kumbhakāras), experts in tag-making (Sūtra-karmaviśesajñas), weapon-makers (Śastropajīvins), dealers in peacock-tails (Māyūrakas), saw-men (Krākachikas), Pearlcutters (Vedhakas), dyers (Rockakas), ivory-makers (Dantakāras), whitewashers (Sudhākāras), perfumery-men (Gandhopajīvins), gold-smiths

1 A vigorous plea in this respect on behalf of women is found in Varāhamihira Bṛhat-Samhitā, 74 4-5

2 Cf Hardy, Op. Cit P 4; R L Mehta, op. cit Pp 250-2.

3 Mahākapi-Jātaka, Cowell's Eng Ed. V.P 38, Kāma-Jātaka, Cowell's Eng Ed IV P 104.

4 Phandana-Jātaka, Cowell's Eng Ed, IV P 129.

5 Mahāsutasoma Jātaka, No 537.

6 Bhūridatta-Jātaka, Cowell's Eng Ed, VI. P 88

7 Chhāndogya Upa, II 5.11 4.

8 R L. Mehta, op. cit P 254.

9. II. 83. 12-16

(Suvarnakāras), blanket-makers (Kambalakāras), Physicians (Vaidyas), Shampooers of body with hot water (Snāpakoṣnodakas), dealers in ungents (Dhūpakas), wine-makers (Śauṇdikas), washermen (Rajakas), weavers (Tantuvāyas), dancers (Naṭas), and fish-catchers (Kaivartakas).

There were various professions practised by the Śramanas and Brāhmanas, that were rather despised and held low by the society in general. The Brahmajāla Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya[1] gives a long list of those, e.g., palmistry (Angam), divining by means of omens and signs (Nimittam), fortune-telling by reading the bodily marks (Lakkhanam or Anga Vijjā), counting on finger (Muddā), counting without the use of fingers, i.e., accounting (Gaṇanā),[2] summing up large totals (Samkhānam), Sophistry (Lokāyata), practising as an occulist (Sālākiyam), Surgery (Sallakattikam), fixing lucky days for travels and marriages etc. (Āvāhanam Vivāhanam), fixing lucky times for treaties and hostilities (Samvādanam Vivādanam), reading the meaning of celestial portents (Uppadam), interpretations of dreams (Supinam), sacrificing to Agni (Aggi-homam), determining the luck or otherwise of a proposed site for houses (Vatthu-Vijjā), and knowledge of charms used against ghosts and animal poisons etc. Jugglery[3] also came in the category of low professions.

Reference is made in the Sāmannaphalsutta of the Dīgha Nikāya[4] to adherents of some other ordinary crafts of the time, described by Richard Fick as 'Low professional castes'.[5] They were elephant-riders (Hatthārohā), horse-riders (Assārohā), charioteers (Rathikā), archers[6] (Dhanuggahā), slaves or their sons (Dāsakaputtā), cooks (Ālārikā), barbers (Kappakā), bath-attendants (Nahāpakā), confectioners (Sūdā), garland-makers (Mālākārā),

1. DN. (Bom. Uni Pub.), Pt. I.P 10
2 Ibid , MN , Sarnath (Hindi) Ed., Pp.58 and 452 , Vinayapitaka, Sarnath (Hindi) Ed. P. 118.
3. M.N (Sarnath Hindi Ed.), P. 488.
4. DN., (Bom. Uni. Pub.), Pt. I. P. 61.
5. Op. cit , P 324.
6 Culladhanuggaha-Jātaka, Fausboll's Ed., Vol. III P. 219.

Washermen (Rajakā), weavers[1] (Peśakārā), Basket-makers[2] (Nalakārā), and potters[3] (Kumbhakārā). The Jātakas also speak of various other lowly professions, e g., those of musicians[4] (Gandhabbā), snakecharmers[5] (Ahigunthikā), those who guided the ways of travellers in the forests (Atavirakkhikā),[6] hunters[7] (Luddakā), carpenters[8] (Vaddhaki), deer-stalkers and sellers of venison[9] (MigaLuddakā), Corn-factors[10] (Dhannavanijā), ferrymen[11] (Nāvikā), dancers[12] (Natā), gardeners[13] and garland-makers (Mālākārā), doctors skilled in the cure of snake-bites[14] (Visavejjā), acrobatic jumpers[15] (Langhanantakā), Fishermen[16] (bālisiko), husbandmen[17] (Kassakā), smiths[18] (Kammārā), tailors[19] (Tunnakammakā) tavern-keepers[20] (Vārunivanijā), and green-grocers[21].

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1. DN, Op. cit, P. 61, Vinayapitaka, Sarnath (Hindi) Ed., P. 29.
2. DN, Op Cit, P 61, Suruchi-Jātaka, Cowell's Eng Ed, IV P. 200.
3. DN, Op Cit, P 61, Kumbhakāra-Jātaka, Fausboll's Ed III P 376; MN. Sarnath (Hindi) Ed, P. 331
4. Guttila-Jātaka, Fausboll's Ed, II. P 248
5. Salaka-Jātaka, Fausboll's Ed II P 267.
6. Khurappa-Jātaka, Fausboll's Ed II. 335
7. Rohantamiga Jātaka, Fausboll's Ed, IV P 422 Hunters were of so many kinds, e g, those, who killed sheep(Aurabhrikā), boars (Sūkarikā), birds (Sakuntikā), deer (Margavīkā), and fish (Matsyaghātakā) These were treated, however, as cruel professions Vide-MN (Sarnath Hindi Ed), P 207, Richard fick, op cit, P 303
8. Phandana-Jātaka, Fausboll's Ed, Vol IV. P 207.
9. Mamsa-Jātaka, Fausboll's Ed., III P 49
10. Ahiguṇdika-Jātaka, Fausboll's Ed, III. P 198.
11. Āvāriya-Jātaka, Fausboll's Ed, III P 230
12. Padakusalamānava-Jātaka, Fausboll's Ed., III. P 507
13. Cullaka Setthi-Jataka, Fausboll's Ed., I P 120.
14. Visvanta-Jātaka, Fausboll's Ed, I P 310
15. Dubacca-Jātaka, Fausboll's Ed, I P 430
16. Ubhatobhatta-Jātaka, Fausboll's Ed, I P. 482
17. Sihacamma-Jātaka, Fausboll's Ed, II P 109.
18. Suci-Jātaka, Fausboll's Ed., III. P. 281
19. Nigrodha-Jātaka, Fausboll's Ed, IV P. 40
20. Varuni-Jātaka, Fausboll's Ed., I. P. 252.
21. Jātaka, Fausboll's Ed. Vol. I. Pp. 437ff.

There were some agricultural professions[1], practised chiefly outside the precincts of the towns or villages, e.g., those of the cow-herds (Gopālakas), grass-cutters (Trinahārakas), foresters (Vanakammikas), wood-gatherers (Kāsthahārakas), or Park-keepers (Ārāmagopakas)[2].

Then there was the serving class, Commonly known as Kammakaras[3]. The people of this class usually formed one hereditary caste, though sometimes it also happened that people in distress took to the profession of service[4]. They worked with noble and high families and did almost all the household business.

Despite the fact that Indian villages have been since very ancient times cosmopolitan and more or less self-sufficient in all the required professions that go to make a good and unified social life, predominance of one caste in one village has often been the case, sometimes bordering on exclusiveness References are often made to the villages, predominantly occupied by the people of one caste and profession, e g , by carpenters (Vaddhakigāmo)[5], Smiths (Kammāragāmo)[6], hunters (Nesādagāmo)[7], Brāhmanas (Brāhmanagāmo)[8] or fishermen[9]. The population of such villages consisted of almost one family, descending from one common ancestor with common social-customs and manners and usually having one old and skilful man as the village-elder (Gāmajetthaka). They had their own guilds[10], which have been compared by Richard[11] Fick with the corporations of the middle ages Europe. The guilds

1. MN (Sarnath Hindi Ed P 49, Kunāla-Jataka, Fausboll's Ed. Vol. V P 417
2 cf DPPN. II P 692
3 DN (Bom Uni. Pub), Pt I P 161.
4 cf. Richard Fick, op cit P. 305.
5 Alīnacitta-Jātaka, Fausboll's Ed., Vol II P. 18.
6. Suci-Jātaka, Fausboll's Ed, Vol III P 281
7 Sāma-Jātaka, Fausboll's Ed, Vol VI P 71
8 Ambattha Sutta of the DN (Bom. Uni Pub.), Pt. I. P. 97.
9. Cf DPPN II P 691.
10. Reference is made to the elders of such guilds, e.g., to the Mālākārajetthaka (Jātaka, Fausboll's Ed, III. P. 405), cf. Fick. op. cit, Pp. 279-284.
11. op. cit, P. 284.

represented their professional homogeniety and looked after their business, as well as economic and also sometimes caste-interests.

Food and drink

The dietary habits of the Kośalan People, like other Indians, had not changed much, despite the cult of non-violence preached by Jainism and Buddhism, as compared to the early historical days. The change into a settled and agricultural life from that of a primitive and pastoral must have, no doubt, wrought many differences in matters of food and drink, but once they came about, they remained for a sufficiently long period. All the available literature—from the Vedic to the Buddhistic, presents more or less an uniform list of edibles and we may just proceed to describe them.

Food

Agricultural produce formed the staple food of the people. It contained[1] wheat, barley, rice (Śāli or Vrīhī), phaseolus Mungo (Mudga), Phaseolus radiatus (Māsa), rice (Nivāra), and some other varieties of a few rainy-season crops, having very small seeds, which are still found in the north-eastern parts of India and are styled as 'Sānvān' and 'Kodo'. Sugar-cane and its preparations like sugar-candy and sugar-plums, honey, rice-preparations—such as gruel and soup, and sweets were the niceties of the kitchen[2]. Milk and its preparations like butter, curd, and Ghee as well as their combinations with rice and flour etc. were used in abundance[3]. Some varieties of oil was also used as food[4].

The people were by no means strict vegetarians. Meat was quite popular with most of the sections of society including the Buddhist monks, who had the orders of the Buddha to shun only that meat, which had been prepared from animals purposely and specifically killed by the lay-worshippers to entertain the Bhikkhus[5] Despite

Non-Vegetarianism

1. Cf. MN (Sarnath Hindi Ed), Pp 36, 49
2 VR I 53 2-3, Vinayapitaka (Sarnath Hindi Ed.), P 26.
3 Vinayapitaka (Sarnath Hindi Ed), P 26.
4. Ibid P. 26
5. Ibid. P. 245

the teacher's advice to the monks against the acceptance of so many kinds of cooked flesh, meat-eating was so popular in the society that sometimes hundreds of meat-dishes were served to them[1] by their worshippers. Almost every kind of animal flesh, including sometimes that of the cow as well as of the bull also, was taken. References are found[2] to the cow's or bull's meat being accepted as late as the Buddhist period. The Vrihadāranyaka Upanisad of the Vājasneyins has an important testimony in as much as it says that "he, who desires to have a son unvanquished in the assembly of Panditas and the speaker of a speech respected by all, who can explain all the Vedas and live a long life, should eat rice cooked with flesh and clarified butter, whether the flesh be that of a bull or a ram"[3]. It must not be considered, however, that beef-eating was very common The growing sense of the cow's utility in matters of agriculture and the yield she gave, while alive, in the shape of milk etc, outweighed the gain of meat, in case she was killed. Gradually a sense of respect grew and the cow became the mother, 'Aghanyā'.

The animals, whose meat was generally accepted by the society were[4] the deer of all species, iguanas, a kind of lizards (Godhā), boars or pigs, cocks, hens, and peacocks[5]. Fish was considered to be

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1 Ibid, P 235. The specific number of such meat-dishes is given there as 1200

2 The MN. (Sarnath Hindi Ed, Pp. 36 and 216) speaks of a cow's flesh and its cutting into small pieces by a Cow-killer. The Gijjha-Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed), Vol II P 50 speaks of some cow-flesh being brought from a cattle's burning place by a kindly merchant to be given to some miserable vultures

3. अथ य इच्छेत्पुत्रो मे पण्डितो विगीत· समितिं गमः शुश्रूषितां वाचं भाषिता जायेत् सर्वान्वेदाननुब्रवीत सर्वमायुरियादिति मांसौदन पाचयित्वा सर्पिष्मन्तमश्नीयातामीश्वरौ जनयित्वा औक्षेण वाऽऽर्षभेण वा ।। VI 4 18

4 रुरून् गोधान् वराहाश्च हृत्वादायामिषान् बहून् ।।
VR III. 47. 23, Jātaka, Cowell's Eng. Ed., Vol. IV P. 18; Godha-Jātaka, Cowell's Eng Ed., Vol III P. 57.

5. वाप्यो मैरेयपूर्णाश्च मृष्टमांसचयैर्वृताः ।
प्रतप्तपिठरैश्चापि मार्गमायूरकौक्कुटैः ।। VR. II. 91.70.

a nicety like ghee, butter, honey, sugarplums, Milk, curd, or meat[1]. We are also told by one of the Jātakas[2] that an ascetic ate the flesh of a monkey given to him by the inhabitants of a village in the kingdom of Kāśī. The hunters were themselves used to the flesh of hyenas, lions, tigers[3], and other such fierce animals. Rams, goats, and buffaloes also must have been killed for meat. Emergencies like famine, etc. forced the people sometimes to partake of the flesh of elephants, horse, and dogs even[4]. The oily flesh of boars and bears was considered to be a good medical diet for patients suffering from rheumatism[5]. As a matter of fact, meat-eating was so widely prevalent and unquestionably accepted that people ate not only that, which was fresh, but preserved and dried[6] for future occasions, what they could not consume initially.

Meat and drinks often went together but, unlike the former, the latter was considered to be a vice, the cause of so many evils.

Drinks

Surā and Madirā were the most common words for drinks, which were prepared from several things. Drinks went generally with sacrifices, worship of the deities and gods, and festivities Ordinarily only the people engaged in those ceremonies accepted drinks, except, of course, the habitual drunkards and the aristocratic people The Rāmāyana[7] informs that Sītā, when she crossed the Gangā, while proceeding with her husband, Rāma, to the Dandaka forest, promised that she would propitiate that river with a thousand jars of Surā, if her

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1 Vinayapitaka (Sarnath Hindi Ed), P. 26.

2 Mahābodhi-Jātaka, Cowell's Eng Ed., V P 121

3 Vinayapiṭaka (Sarnath Hindi Ed , P 233.

4 Ibid P 232.

5 Ibid Pp 20-21, Note 4

6 Sabbadātha-Jātaka, Fausboll's Ed., II P 245.

7. सा त्वां देवि नमस्यामि प्रशंसामि च शोभने ।
प्राप्तराज्ये नरव्याघ्रे शिवेन पुनरागते ॥ VR II. 52. 87
सुराघटसहस्राणि मासभूतौदनेन च ।
यक्ष्ये त्वां प्रयता देवि पुरीं पुनरागता ॥ VR. II. 52.89.

husband was able to safely come back from the forest and get the throne of Ayodhyā. The Kumbha-Jātaka[1] bears an important testimony in this respect and speaks of the drinking habits of the people. We are told that drinking festivals were organized, in which not only men but women as well took part. Once on such an occasion, 500 women friends of Viśākhā, the famous woman disciple of the Buddha, took part in the drinking feast, in which strong drinks were used. It was Viśākhā alone, who, with her sense of worship of the Buddha, abstained from drinking. Wine-merchants and drinking-halls are also referred to[2]. The same Jātaka evinces[3] as to how a forester, Sura, discovered some strong drink and spread abroad the discovery with the result that not only Sabbamitta[4], the king of Śrāvastī, but the whole people (exaggeratedly called Jambūdīpa) took to its drinking and had Sakka, the god, not intervened, all were bound to be destroyed.

The Brāhmanas, it seems, did not indulge in drinking. The Mahā-Sutasoma-Jātaka[5] represents a Brāhmana father as saying to his son, who once got drunk very strongly and praised his drinks: 'if this is so our family tradition will be destroyed and our wealth will perish"[6] and repeated the following stanza[7].

> "A scion of Brahmin house, withal a comely boy,
> Thou must not drink the accursed thing no Brahmin may enjoy".

The general opinion of society seems to have been certainly against the use of drinks and the collective wisdom in this respect is best represented by the Buddha, who describes six evils of wine.

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1 Cowell's Eng. Ed , Vol V Pp 7ff , Refer also to the Sigāla-Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed., Vol. I. P. 489), which refers to a festival, a very wet festival indeed, observed at Rājagriha with everyone drinking very hard.
2 Ibid., cf. DPPN II. P. 1023
3. Cowell's Eng. Ed Vol. I Pp. 489ff
4. The king cannot, however, be identified.
5. Cowell.s Eng. Ed., Vol V. P 253.
6. Ibid.,
7. Ibid. P. 253.

Those evils are enumerated[1] as the loss of wealth, the growth of mutual strife, generation of sickness, incurring of bad name, loss of bashfulness or shamefulness, and loss of intelligence. That is why, the master, who did not put too much limitations against the use of meat by the monks of his fraternity, asked the latter[2] to particularly desist from every kind of strong drink, e.g., Corn-juice, the juice of Bassia-Latifolia[3] (Madhūka), and the juice of the Dhāka flower, which are all strong intoxicants. All that he allowed were the luxuries of a few fruits or honey.

Dress and decorations of the body

From howsoever little information that we possess regarding the dress of the people of ancient India, it may be concluded that its mode was very simple[4]. The clothing of the body consisted primarily of two pieces of cloth, one meant for the lower portions of the body, which was commonly styled as the 'Adhovastra' and the other for the upper (above the waist) portions and known as the 'Uttarīya[5]'. Sewn clothes were perhaps not used in the beginning and the 'Uttarīya' seems to have been more common in women than men Sītā, while being forcibly taken away by Rāvana is said to have thrown away her 'Uttarīya' with some ornaments[6] amongst the monkey-chiefs of Sugrīva in order that the information of her abduction may be carried over to Rāma. Ascetics and those, who practised pena-

Dress

1. Sigālovāda Sutta of the DN (Sarnath Hindi Ed), P 272
2. Vinayapitaka (Sarnath Hindi Ed), P 251.
3. From the blossoms and seeds respectively of Bassia Latifolia arrac (liquor) is distilled and oil is extracted.
4. Mr C. V Vaidya opined that tailoring as an art was not known to the early Indians and it was introduced in this country "after the Greek conquest of the Punjab or, if at all earlier, at the time of Darius" cf Epic. India P 124.
5. Styled as "Uttarāsanga" in the Majjhima Nikāya, Sarnath (Hindi) Ed, P 112 Various fashions of putting on clothes by the householders are described in Vinayapitaka (Sarnath Hindi Ed.), P 443
6. उत्तरीय तया त्यक्त शुभान्याभरणानि च ।
तान्यस्माभिर्गृहीतानि निहितानि च राघव ।। VR. IV. 6.11.

nces, used the bark of trees, grass[1], or cloth made of some variety of jute or hessian[2]. The kings, their ministers, and other aristocratic and wealthy people possessed varieties of shawls of various colours, presumably of wool and silk, which they could change at will[3]. The most common material for cloth was cotton, whose production the Indians knew from very early times. Silk[4] and wool also were fairly prevalent. The upper Kośalans residing in the hilly parts of the Himālaya must have used, like other upper Indians, woollen cloth during the winters[5]. The preparation of cloth from palm-bark, the stalks of the coral tree (Arkanāla), or from the bark of the 'Bhanga' plant is also referred to[6]. Mats were woven from Jute, hessian, and the fibers of linseed[7].

Despite various references to the existence of a separate professional caste of weavers[8] (Tantuvāya), it cannot be said that they were the only people engaged in the weaving of cloth. The art was perhaps pursued in all the homes that wanted to adopt it We find a great Ksatriya lady like Mahāprajāpati making a present of some fine cloth to the Buddha, whose yarn she had herself spun and had also woven it[9] Even the Bhikkhus were allowed by the Buddha the use of the loom[10].

1 Rāma and Laksamana put on the dress of Risis as long as they remained in the Dandaka forest So says the Rāmāyana —

तौ तदा चीरवसनौ जटामण्डलधारिणौ ।

अशोभतामृषिसमौ भ्रातरौ रामलक्ष्मणौ ॥ VR II 52 70.

2 MN (Sarnath Hindi Ed), P 49

3 Ibid P 131

4 Kauseya was the word for silken cloth cf. Vinayapitaka, (Sarnath Hindi Ed), P 19

5 Bharata is said to have received coloured blankets, besides many other things, as presents from his maternal grandfather, the Kekaya king. VR, II 70.19, Refer also to Vinayapitaka (Sarnath Hindi Ed), P. 19.

6. Vinayapitaka (Sarnath Hindi Ed), Pp 454, 293, and 107 respectively.

7. Pāyāsirājañña Sutta, DN (Sarnath Hindi Ed.), P 209.

8. Vinayapiṭaka (Sarnath Hindi Ed.), P. 29; DN (Bom. Uni Pub.), Pt I P 61.

9. MN (Sarnath Hindi Ed.), P. 579

10. Vinayapiṭaka (Sarnath Hindi Ed.), P. 442.

Articles of personal safety and physical convenience and ease were abundantly used. Reference is made in the Vinayapiṭaka to heeled shoes[1] of various designs and colours, wooden sleepers or sandals of different kinds and makes,[2] mosquito-curtains[3], and embroidered pillows.[4] Just as is the custom even in modern Northern India, the wooden conveyance, called 'Śibikā', i.e., 'Pālakī', was used by the wealthy, aristocratic, and invalid[5] people. It was commonly used on ceremonial occasions. Apart from the 'Śibikā' which was carried on human shoulders, there was another man-driven conveyance, styled as 'Hathāvattaka'[6] (Hastāvartaka). The skins of lions and tigers, wrapped cotton, and woollen blankets were used as 'beddings'[7] and they could be made to give great comfort.

articles of Convenience

The Kośalans, like all other Indians, were quite fond of ornaments, which were not confined to women alone but were put on by men even, particularly in childhood We are informed by the Lalitavistara[8] that five hundred ornaments were prepared under the orders of Śuddhodana, which were meant for almost all the portions of the body of his son, Siddhārtha. They included ornaments for the hands, feet, head and neck, 'Seal-rings', earings, armlets, waist-chains, golden threads, nets mounted with bells, nets mounted with jewels, jewel-mounted shoes, necklaces of various kinds of jewels, bracelets, and delightful crowns[9]

ornaments

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1. Ibid. Pp 204-5.
2. Ibid. Pp 406-8, VR. II. 112 21-5, Jātaka, V (Fausboll's Ed), P. 298.
3. Vinayapitaka (Sarnath Hindi Ed.), P. 429.
4. Ibid. P 434.
5. Ibid. P. 209, Refer also to VR VI 117 14.
6. Vinayapitaka (Sarnath Hindi Ed), P 209.
7. Ibid. P 209
8. Lefmann's Ed. Ch I, Refer also to the Eng Trans. (R.L. Mitra) P. 178.
9. मुद्रिकाभरणानि कर्णिकाया केयूराणि मेखलासुवर्णसूत्राणि किंकिनीजालानि, रत्नजालानि, मणिप्रत्युप्तानि, ,पादुकानानारत्नसमलकृता हारा: कटकाहर्षामुकुटानि etc Ibid.

An example of how rich people squandered away their money in procuring dazzling and costly ornaments is furnished by another account. We are told that the 'Mahālatāpasādhana'[1] was prepared for Viśākhā, the daughter of Dhanañjaya, the wealthy merchant of Śrāvastī, by 500 goldsmiths, for whose cooking oil-soaked cloth and the wood of delapidated houses were used because the supply of fire-wood ran short.

Necklaces (Mālā), earings (Kuṇḍala), bracelets (Keyūra) and waist-chains[2] were quite common in women right from the aristocratic and wealthy classes at the top, who could use jewels and costly metals like gold etc., to the lower and poorer sections of society, which used only ordinary metals. Besides these, there were the Lalātikā,[3] an ornament for the forehead, tops for the ear, Pāmanga, which was put presumably somewhere on the head, armlets, and rings. Pearls, diamonds, gold, and silver were used for ornaments

Other decorations of the body

Besides the dress and ornaments, there were other fineries like ungents, paints, powders, and fashioning of the body in many a way. Ascetics either kept matted hair[4] or did not keep it at all. Brāhmanas perhaps followed the practice of shaving the head and chin completely. Fashionable house-holders, however, seem to have grown pretty long hair over the head and beards on the chin[5] Women left the hair on their heads to grow as long

1 That was an ornament possessed only by three persons: Mallikā, the wife of Bandhula, Viśākhā, and Devadāniyacora cf Sumangalavilāsinī, PTS II P 599, DPPN II. Pp 550, and 900-1.

2. Jātaka, (Fausboll's Ed.) VI. P. 590 (Gāthā 2444-7); V. Pp 202, 215, 302, etc Laksamana says in the Vālmīki Rāmāyana (IV 6 22) —

नाहं जानामिकेयूरे नाहं जानामि कुण्डले ।
नूपुरे त्वाभिजानामि नित्य पादाभिवन्दनात् ॥

3. Vinayapitaka (Sarnath Hindi Ed.), Pp 350 and 419

4. Rāma followed an ascetic's life in the Daṇḍaka forest by keeping matted hair over his head. The VR. says:—

जटाः कृत्वा गमिष्यामि न्यग्रोध क्षीरमानय । II. 52.68.

5. Strabo speaks of the Indians having beards and dying them with various colours. M'crindle's Ant. Ind., P. 38.

as they could, which they washed and combed regularly and made into wrinkles. They used[1] powders as well as paints for the shine of their faces and other parts of the body, dyed their feet, and applied collyrium to their eyelashes. Oily substances were used both by females and males for keeping the hair and skin smooth and soft, while massaging and shampooing were not uncommon The use of the mirror then was a natural necessity. Walking sticks, umbrellas, and Chowries are also referred to.[2] Flower-garlands of lotus, jasmine, or white lilies were put on round the neck in order to satisfy the taste of aesthetics, ungents, and good smell.[3]

Recreations

The Indians of old were quite fond of recreations and spent their leisure in various sports Hunting seems to have occupied a pre-eminent position in this respect. It was one of those incomparable recreations, which were fully accepted by the kings and Risis alike.[4] For what Rāma pined most, while going to the Dandaka forest, was the fact that he was leaving behind his practice of going with his parents to the flowery forest on the banks of the river Sarayū and hunting there. He looked forward to the future, when he would be able to resume the same[5] The most prominent places of hunting in Kośala were the banks[6] of the rivers Sarayū and Tamasā. The benefits of hunting, which Kālidāsa describes as having accrued to king Daśaratha,[7] seem to leave no doubt at all that it was held

Hunting

1. MN (Sarnath Hindi Ed.), P 334, DN (Sarnath Hindi Ed), P 4, Vinayapitaka (Sarnath Hindi Ed), Pp 419-20, Jātaka, (Fausboll's Ed), Vol V Pp 150, 203, 215, 302, VI. P 232
2 DN (Sarnath Hindi Ed), P 4.
3 Vinayapitaka (Sarnath Hindi Ed), P 521
4. रतिर्ह्येषातुला लोके राजर्षिगणसमता ।। VR. II. 49 15.
5 कदाऽहं पुनरागम्य सरय्वा. पुष्पिते वने ।
मृगया पर्यटिष्यामि मात्रा पित्रा च सगता ।। VR II. 49. 14
6. Raghuvamśa, IX 72.
7 परिचय चललक्ष निपातने भयरुषोश्च तदिंगितबोधनम् ।
श्रमजयात्प्रगुण च करोत्यसौतनुमतोऽनुमतः सचिवैर्ययौ ।।
Raghuvamśa, IX. 49

in high esteem by the society. The most common objects of hunting were the boars,[1] the buffaloes, the deer of all species, the lion, the tiger, and the bears etc. The Majjhima nikāya[2] refers to the ruse of sown cornfields in the midst of jungles for the purpose of attracting deer, for whose catching hounds and nets were used.[3]

Samājas

'Samājas[4]' and 'Utsavas' were special names given to some sort of institutional recreations observed on fixed occasions by the people of ancient India. What was their exact nature, however, cannot be easily decided and various opinions have come forth as explanations[5]. It seems the nature of those 'Samājas' was not, uniformly and specifically fixed. It must have differed with times and places or different interests of the people. That there was variety in them is left in no doubt by the first Roct Edict of Aśoka[6], where he commends some types of Samājas to the people and prohibits others that were, according to him, undesirable. They seem to have included[7] fairs, festivities, recreations of many a sort, play, and sports Pleasure-seeking as well as high spirits were evident, with

1 Ibid IX. 60-63
2. Sarnath (Hindi) Ed, P 98
3. Raghuvamśa, IX 53.
4. आरामोद्यानसम्पन्नां समाजोत्सवशालिनिम् ।
सुखिता विचरिष्यन्ति राजधानी पितुर्मम ॥ VR. II. 51 23
Refer also to VR. II. 67 15 and Aśoka's R.E.I.
5. Refer, for example, to D R Bhandarkar (IA. XLII, Pp 255ff.), who opined that there were two types of 'Samajjas', One, in which music and plays were the chief items and the other, where feasting, including meat-taking, was observed, F W Thomas (JRAS. 1914, Pp. 392ff., 752, 1918, 122ff); M M Bose (IHQ IV Pp. 111-3); N. G. Majumdar, (IA XLVIII Pp. 221ff.), V Smith (IA XLVIII. P 235); R L Mehta, Pre-Buddhist India, P. 355 etc.
6. The Girnar version says —
न च समाजो कतथवो, बहुकं हि दोस समाजं हि पसति देवानंप्रियो पियदसि राजा । अस्तिपि तुएकचा समाजा साधुमता देवानप्रियस-पियदसिनो राञो'
7. Jātaka, (Fausboll's Ed.), Vol. II. P. 253, IV. P. 458, VI. Pp. 7 and 277.

feasting in the end in which meat and drinks played a very great part. The royal court was usually chosen as the venue of those Samājas and the kings themselves invited the people to witness them. Sometimes mountain peaks[1] also were chosen as their sites

Gambling

Gambling was the sport of the wealthy and royal people[2] and a bad engagement of those, who were habituated to it. Dice-chambers seem to have formed part of the royal courts and one is referred to have been built at Banaras[3]. The Brahmajāla Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya[4] refers to various plays of dice, many of which can hardly be explained. Society, however, did not take kindly to it and the Buddha seems to have represented the general feeling in recounting its evils that are sixfold[5], viz that the defeated gambler becomes anxious for the lost money, the victorious one begets enmity, there is immediate loss of money in dice-playing, there grows a public lack of belief in a gambler's words, a gambler is despised by his friends and counsellors, and that none is prepared to give his daughter in marriage to a gambler.

Other recreations

Dancing, singing, playing on various musical instruments, dramatic performance[6], playing with small iron balls[7], playing with bamboos or sticks, elephant-fighting, horse-fighting, bufallo-fighting, bull-fighting, goat-fighting, ram-fighting, cock-fighting, dove-fighting, Lāthi-plays, fist-fighting, wrestling, ordinary fighting,

1 Jātaka, (Fausboll's Ed), Vol III P 538
2. Jātaka, (Fausboll's Ed), Vol I P 289, MN (Sarnath Hindi Ed), P. 358
3 Jātaka, Fausboll's Ed, Vol III. Pp 187-8
4 Bom Uni. Pub., Pt I P. 7, Refer also to Vinayapitaka (Sarnath Hindi Ed.), P 349
5 DN (Sarnath Hindi Ed), P 272.
6 The VR. (1 5 12) speaks of 'वधूनाटकसंघ' i e, dramatic societies of women
7. Leather-balls, which were pumped with air and could be tossed and kicked, seem to have been known to the ancient Indians. Refer to Jātaka, (Fausboll's Ed), Vol V. Pp 196, 203, VI P. 741.

and watching the manoeuvres and fighting of an army were other recreations[1]. The Vinayapitaka[2] refers to the existence of women wrestlers. Courtesans cultivated the arts of singing and dancing, as is the case even now, in order to amuse[3] people and earn their livelihood thereby. As a matter of fact, music was and has been till now perhaps the most prevalent and common recreation. It has been always held in high esteem by the society. Contests between musicians were not unknown and one of the famous contests is referred to in the Guttila Jātaka[4]. Agnivarna, the sensual Kośalan king, was an expert at playing flute and Mridanga[5]. Pleasure-gardens[6] were attached to almost all wealthy, aristocratic, or royal families, to which beautiful girls bedecked with ornaments went for morning and evening walks and remained there till late in the evening. Tanks often formed part of those gardens and proved to be attractive resorts for water-sports, 'a favourite pastime with the rich and the kings[7]'. Snake-charmers[8] and acrobatic jumpers[9] were so popular that they could at once attract very large numbers of people with their signals. Watersports in rivers and boating in them was a great enjoyment[10].

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1 'नच्च गीत वादित पेक्ख अक्खान पाणिस्सर वेताल कुम्भथूणं सोभणक चण्डाल वस धोवन, हत्थि-युद्ध अस्स-युद्ध महिस-युद्ध उसभ-युद्ध अज-युद्ध मेण्ड-युद्ध कुक्कुट-युद्ध बट्टक-युद्ध, दण्डयुद्धं मुट्ठियुद्ध निब्बुद्ध उय्योधिक बलग्ग सेनाव्यूहं अनीकदस्सन इति वा'
DN., (Bom Uni Pub), Pt. I P 7.

2 Sarnath (Hindi) Ed , P 529

3 SN. (Sarnath Hindi Ed), Pt II P 696

4 Vol II (Fausboll's Ed), Pp 253-4 , The contest was held in the court of the king of Banaras between Guttila, said to have been the chief of his kind in all India, and Musila, a musician from Ujjayini

5. cf Raghuvamśa, IXX 13-14

6. VR. II. 51 23 , II 67 17

7 R L Mehta, op cit. P 354

8. Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed.), Vol. II P 267 , IV P. 457-8.

9. Ibid. Vol. III. Pp. 541.

10. Ibid. Vol I. P. 458.

The above testimonies regarding the sportive and recreative nature of the Indians and the love they exhibited for good dishes, cosmetics, and toilette should leave no doubt, whatsoever, about their gay and lively attitude towards life and the things mundane. 'It was a life born of every-day struggles and developed through intermittent pleasures and amusements, fairs and festivals, joy and beauty, which alone could preserve the soul of the race, as of individual[1]'.

Imortant customs and manners

Purdā

The custom of Purdā in Indian women seems to have had a very ancient origin[2]. This was confined, however, as has always been the case, to the higher and aristocratic sections of the society. It was essential for a new bride to keep Purdā[3]. The royal women were specially used to palace-confinement[4] but even their coming to public view at times of recreations, calamities, wars, Svayamvaras, Sacrifices, and marriages was not treated as objectionable[5].

1 R L. Mehta, op cit. P 357

2. The comon belief that the Hindu women began to observe Purdā after the Muslim impact seems to be erroneous.

3. Lalitavistara (Eng. Trans), P 215

4. Vālmiki (II. 33 8) says of Sītā, while the latter started on her forest journey —

या न शक्या पुराद्रष्टुं भूतैराकाशगैरपि ।
तामद्यसीता पश्यन्ति राजमार्गगता जना. ।।

We are also told (Jātaka, Fausboll's Ed , I P. 381) how the royal women of Kośala asked the king (Prasenajita) to request the Buddha to send to the palace one of his chief disciples to teach them the doctrine, since they could not go out, and Ānanda was deputed for the purpose.

5. व्यसनेषु न कृच्छ्रेषु न युद्धेषु स्वयवरे ।
न क्रतौ न विवाहे च दर्शनं दुष्यति स्त्रियः ।। VR. VI. 117. 27.
Refer also to Hardy, A Manual of Buddhism, P. 228; Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā, Vol. I. P. 190.

Like Purdā, the Satī custom also seems to have been observed in certain cases. The truth and historicity of the references in the Purāṇas[1] and other literary works[2] to Satī are borne out by what the Greeks have to say on the point[3].

Satī

Generous hospitality towards guests and strangers has been one of the distinctive qualities of the Indians, specially those of the village folk, since very ancient times. A good example is furnished by the Rāmāyana[4] of how a royal guest in the person of Viśvāmitra is treated by the Sage Vasiṣtha and the latter, in order to play a good host, tries to procure all those things, which he cannot ordinarily get in his forest-abode, by the help of his wish-fulfilling cow, Nandinī. The Jātakas[5] tell us how unknown strangers were approached with friendly feelings, offered food and drink, given comfortable beds to lie on and sleep, and were thus turned into intimate friends.

Hospitality

Charity (Dāna) has been one of the highest ideals of the Indian people. It was highly extolled[6] and was practised in some way or the other from the richest down to the poorest The origin of this custom can be traced to that hoary past, when the theory of Karma became preponderant in Indian philosophical thinking. The belief that one has to reap whatever he or she sows leads a person towards alms-giving in the hope of getting its reward in times or lives to come. The special occasions for such alms-giving were those of

Charity

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1 The queen of Bāhu, the Kośalan king, was dissuaded by the Bhārgava Riṣi, Aurva, from burning herself on a funeral pyre on the plea of her pregnancy. Vide-Bḍ. III 63 126-33; Vāyu, 88.120-39, Br 8.29-46; Viṣ. IV. 3.15-18 etc

2 Raghuvaṁśa (XVII 6) says that in the event of Kuśa's dying early his queen, Kumudvatī, committed Satī.

3. cf. M'crindle's Ant. India. Pp. 38 and 202-3.

4. VR. I. Ch. 52

5. Cf. R.L. Mehta, Pre-Buddhist India, Pp. 274-5.

6. Jātaka, (Fausboll's Ed.), III. P. 471-3; Raghuvaṁśa, XI. 2.

sacrifices[1], births of sons, achievements of desired objects, auspicious happenings, and sacraments after death[2]. Indigent people, physical decrepits, and beggars were the special beneficiaries of gifts, which were generally given in the shape of cows, gold, cloth, and food—both cooked and its raw materials, etc.

The popular mind, has always been superstitious to some extent in all times and climes. General belief in good or bad omens is often exhibited, when the behaviour or movements of certain animals, or of birds, or of even one's physical organs in particular directions[3] or otherwise are interpreted as good or bad. Some dreams were commonly believed to be bad, e.g , one, who dreamt as going on a conveyance drawn by asses, was taken as sure to die soon.[4] The Rāmāyana speaks of the bad dreams of Bharata[5], which he saw after the death of Daśaratha. The Buddha is shown to have explained[6] once to Prasenajita, the king of Kośala, the meaning of the latter's sixteen bad dreams Like bad ones, there were good dreams also and such a one was seen by Māyā,[7] after she conceived the future Buddha. Belief in auspicious moments was another popular habit of mind, as is even now the case with many an Indian. King Daśaratha took every care in fixing an auspicious moment, when he decided to anoint Rāma as his crown-prince.[8] There were certain drugs, which were held in popular estimation

Some popular beliefs

1. Some of the Kośalan kings are traditionally known to have been very great sacrificers and almsgivers Refer to Mbh, XII. Ch 29, Raghuvamśa, I 7, V 1ff , XI 2 etc
2. Prasenajita gave away to the Buddhist Samgha the whole of the personal belongings of his mother after her death cf. Vinayapitaka (Sarnath Hindi Ed), P 470
3. Refer to VR I. 74 9-11 , V 29 1
4. नरो यानेन य स्वप्ने खरयुक्तेन याति हि ।
   अचिरात्तस्य धूमाग्र चिताया सप्रदृश्यते ॥ VR. II. 69. 18.
5. VR. II. 69 17
6. Cf. DPPN II P 576 , Mahāsupīna Jātaka, Fausboll's Ed. I. Pp. 335ff
7. Cf. Rockhill, op cit P 15.
8. VR. II. 4. 21-22.

as capable of protecting a person, to whom they were tied, from all unknown evils.[1] Fate was something, which always came to one's aid as the last logic and explanation for inevitable happenings. It was variously expounded as Kāla,[2] Kritānta,[3] Daiva,[4] Bhavitavyatā[5], or Niyati.[6] Its inevitability was and is often taken even now as the result of one's past deeds with double effects in as much as that one sometimes resigns oneself to whatever happens to him or her and refrains from action on the one hand, but fights hard to obviate the effects of that fate by constant industry and effort on the other.

The common mind believed a lot in fasts[7] Great religious merit was deemed to be derived from them. Fasting must have originally started on grounds of health but it was later popularized by giving it a religious tinge. The days of fasting were generally established on days of important historical happenings, e.g., Krisna's birth-day, or on occasions of special natural phenomenon like solar or lunar eclipse, etc. and they gradually came to be observed as Vratas.

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1 Ibid II. 25 38

2 कालोहि दुरतिक्रम । VR. V 16 3.

3 ऐश्वर्ये वा सुविस्तीर्णे व्यसने वा सुदारुणे ।
रज्जवेव वा पुरुष बद्ध्वाकृतान्त: परिकर्षति ॥ Ibid V 37 3.

4 न चातिक्रमितु शक्य दैव सुग्रीव मानुषै । Ibid, V 49 28

and

दैवं चेष्टयते सर्व हत देवेन हन्यते । Ibid., VI 113. 24.

5 भवितव्यतया नूनमिदं वा व्यसनं महत् । Ibid. II. 59 20.

6 नियति. कारण लोके नियति· कर्मसाधनम् ।
नियति. सर्वभूतानां नियोगेष्विह कारणम् ॥ Ibid. IV. 25 4.

7 Rāma, while advising Sītā not to accompany him to the forest, said to her —
याते च मयि कल्याणि वन मुनिनिवेषितम् ।
व्रतोपवासपरया भवितव्य त्वयानघे ॥ Ibid II 26 29.

CHAPTER XII

RELIGION

Vedicism

It appears that the majority of the people of Kośala were adherents of the Vedic religion[1]. Originally that religion had a simple form of worship, in which prayer to gods was the prominent element. The gods themselves were mostly the agents of nature[2]. But complexity arose with the passage of time and an elaborate cult of sacrifices became markedly popular in the religious field. Gods multiplied and the increasing[3] number of sacrifices now involved expert knowledge and specialised functions. The priestly class performed them not only for itself but for others as well[4], receiving good dividends in the form of Dakṣinās (sacrificial fees). Sacrificing became an art and the fire-pit technicalities became quite important, although complicated. They ceased to be intelligible to the common man

The sacrificial cult

The most important and popular sacrifices referred to in the Brāhmanic literature were the Aśvamedha (differently styled as Vājapeya, Vājimedha, and Hayamedha), Rājasūya, Viśvajita, Agniṣtoma, Āyuṣtoma, Ātirātra, Putresti, Aindra Isti, Samyakapāśa, and Purusamedha. These sacrifices are ascribed to the Brāhmanas in the Buddhist literature. Offerings of sacrificial oblations (Havis) to fire and through fire to gods were their most common features, which were followed by profuse almsgivings[5]. Yuvanāśva II is

1. Hopkins (quoted by B C Law in K. B Pathak Comm Vol P. 76) and Rhys Davids (Buddhist India, Pp. 139-140) believed that Brāhmanism was only an island into a sea and very few people adhered to it This, however, does not seem to be true
2. Cf Sten Konow and P Tuxen, The Religions of India, P. 34.
3. Cf V M Apte, Social and Religious Life in the Gṛihyasūtras, P. 203 and 205
4. One of the six main functions of the Brāhmanas was 'Yājana', i e., sacrificing for others or make others sacrifice See Manusmriti I.88.
5. According to Hopkins, the priest was interested only in his fees. Cf Religions of India, P 192.

referred to have performed a thousand Aśvamedhas[1] and other sacrifices. He was followed in these sacrificial acts by his son and successor, Māndhātā[2]. He is remembered in the Ṛigveda principally as an almsgiver and a sacrificer to Agni and Indra[3]. Other performers of Aśvamedhas and Rājasūyas were Bāhu[4], Sagara[5], Dilīpa II[6], Daśaratha[7], and Rāma[8]. They were mainly political sacrifices, open to supreme monarchs, i.e., Chakravartins only, which were performed in connection with political conquests. Viśvajita sacrifice was performed after a successful world-conquest, in which everything possessed by the sacrificer was given in alms. Only earthen pots remained with him in the end. The Raghuvamśa informs that Raghu performed a Viśvajita[9]. Daśaratha was another great sacrificer, who went in for Jyotistoma, Āyustoma, Atirātra, Abhijita, and Viśvajita[10]. They seem, however, to have been supplementary to the main sacrifice, the Putresti[11], which he performed with a desire to get sons. It was a sacrifice often performed by sonless Kings of ancient India, and was sometimes styled as Aindra Isti. The Risis had condescended to perform it, so that Yuvanāśva II might have

1. अश्वमेघसहस्त्र च प्राथधर्मभृतां वर ।
   अन्यैश्चक्रतुभिर्मुख्यैरजयत्भूरिदक्षिणैः ॥ Mbh III 126 5-6
2. अश्वमेघशतेनेष्ट्वा राजसूयशतेन च ।
   अदद्रोहितान्मत्स्यान्ब्राह्मणेभ्यो विशाम्पते ॥
   Ibid XII 29 91, See also III 126 37
3. एवेन्द्राग्निभ्या पितवन्नव्रवीयो मधातृवदगिरस्वदवाचि । Rig. VIII. 40 12.
4. Brihannāradīya Purāna, 7 9
5. VR I. Ch. 39; Br 8 52 and 61; Bhāg IX 8. 7-8; Bḍ III. 63 152 and 182, Vāyu 88 144 and 152; Śiva II Sec 5 38 48, Mbh. III 107 11ff, and XII. 29 132.
6. Raghuvamśa I 63.
7. VR II. 100 8.
8. Ibid. VII Ch 91, Padma VI 271. 13-14
9. स विश्वजितमाजह्रे यज्ञं सर्वस्वदक्षिणम् । IV. 86.
10. ज्योतिष्टोमायुषी चैवमतिरात्रौ च निर्मितौ ।
    अभिजिद्विश्वजिच्चैवमप्तोर्यामो महाक्रतुः ॥ VR. I. 14.42.
11. See ante. P. 213, That Prayers were offered for having sons is also known from the Culla Palabhana-Jātaka, No. 263.

a son[1].

Puruṣamedhas, also styled as Naramedhas, are referred to in ancient Sanskrit literature. We have already discussed in a previous context[2] as to how Śunaḥśepa[3] was proposed for a sacrifice to god Varuna as an exchange for Rohita (Hariśchandra's son) and was tied to the sacrificial post. It was a horribly inhuman and heinous sacrifice and gradually fell into disrepute With the the growth of time, it proved very difficult to find even priests to officiate at the Purusamedha sacrifice[4]. As Dr. V. M. Apte[5] says, the Purusamedha may have been borrowed from the non-Aryan aborigines. Some Sacrifices were performed for attainment of wordly things[6].

During the last stages of the Vedic period, however, there began to grow a reaction against sacrifices. Some of them were marked by violence and numberless animals were killed and sacrificed at the altars in religious offerings. A typical example is found from the Samyutta Nikāya[7], wherein Prasenajita is shown as ready for a bloody sacrifice, in which were tied to the sacrificial posts 500 oxen, a thousand calves-both male and female in equal numbers, 500 she-goats, and 500 sheep. Buddha and Mahāvīra were not alone, who preached

Reaction

1 Vis IV 2 49ff., Bhāg IX 6 25ff., Mbh III 126 7ff, VII 62 2ff, XII 29.81ff, The Kūrma Purāna (1.20) names that sacrifice as Vāruni Iṣti
2 See ante Pp 139-40, Refer to VR I Ch. 61, Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed), Vol V. Pp 472, 474, and 488
3. The account is given in Ait Brā VII 3, Śānkh SS XV 17-27, (Brihaddevatā, III 103, VR I Chs 61-2, Mbh VI Ch. 6, Bhāg. IX. 7 7ff, HV I. 27 55-56, Rigveda, I 24
4. See ante. P 139 P. Tuxen fixes three stages, by which the Purusamedha declined—"The human sacrifice of the king's son, the sacrifice of a substitute and finally the mere telling of such a human sacrifice with the same effect as its actual performance" Op cit P 42
5 Op Cit P 205
6 Introduction to Jātaka No 91
7. Sarnath Hindi Ed, Pt I P 72, Refer also to the introduction to Jātaka No 19, DN (Sarnath Hindi Ed), P. 48 and 210, Hardy, A Manual of Buddhism, P 280.

the total futility[1] of the sacrificial slaughterings. Opposition to them had started long before. The common man had ceased to find any real significance in them. The complexities of the sacrificial ritual and the fire-pit technicalities were understood by a small class of priests only, which led to the growth of Druidism. The ordinary people remained mostly ignorant spectators. Besides, the costs of the various Yajñas became prohibitive to the ordinary people. Doubts arose whether the time, energy, and expenses involved in them ever gave the results that were desired. Moreover, the whole class of the Śūdras either kept away from them willingly[2] or was forcibly prohibited[3] to perform sacrifices by the Dharmaśāstra-writers, the Brāhmana priests. But even those, who were allowed and considered it their duty to perform sacrifices, i.e., the Dvijas, began to lose their interest in them. There arose a spirit of questioning.

Doubts were felt and expressed regarding the purpose of sacrificial violence. It was openly asked whether a man could transcend the miseries of life and attain the final goal, the eternal bliss, through sacrifices The efficacy of the Mantras and fiery oblations began to be seriously questioned. The Mundaka Upanisad openly declares that those are fools, who try to cross the sea of worldly bondage (existence) through the performance of sacrifices. The latter are like a shaky and unsafe ship[4].

1 Ibid

2 References like Ayajvā, Anahitāgni, and Adevayuḥ imply that the Anāryas (Śūdras) themselves did not willingly take up to the Aryan modes of religious sacrificing to gods in the beginning.

3 Initially, it seems, their original unwillingness to perform religious sacrifices was tolerated But later on, those liberal exemptions changed into a compulsory prohibition and the Śūdras were debarred from all Vedic studies The reasons were chiefly the desire to retain literary, phonetical and grammatical purity and correctness of the Mantras Refer to ĀDS.I 3.9 15, GDS XII 4.6, Śat Brā III.1 1 10 etc

4. प्लवाह्येते अदृढा यज्ञरूपा अष्टादशोक्त अवर् येषुकर्म ।
एतच्छ्रेयोयेऽभिनदन्ति मूढा जरामृत्यु ते पुनरेवापि यान्ति ॥ 1 2 7.
The theory of Ahiṁsā got its hold on a section of the Brāhmaṇic society. Refer to Śat. Brā. I.2.3 6-9, I 2 5 19; Kena Upa. 1.3, Chhāndogya Upa. III.17.4, Mbh. XII. 143. 148,

Not that the spirit underlying sacrifices totally evaporated[1]. It had still a powerful impact on the popular mind. Still sacrificing substantially decreased. During the post-Mahābhārata period we come across very few names like Hiranyanābha Kausalya,[2] who were reputed sacrificers. A quest for spiritual knowledge seized the minds of men. Problems of birth and death; body and soul; God and nature; the life worldly and transcendant; and Liberation (Moksa) became burning topics for discussions. The theory of cause and effect-Karmavāda, became the central point of all thinking. These Upanisadic discussions meant both reaction and progress—reaction against elaborate sacrificial ritual, and progress in the field of enquiry and knowledge. The spirit of protestantism is clearly perceptible It was carried to its finality, with a good deal of difference in emphasis, of course, in the new movements of Mahāvira and the Buddha. To say that their teachings represented a new revolt is hardly true. To say either that their protests were sudden outbursts is also not borne out by facts. Their movements were only a culmination of the growing reformatory mood of the people[3]. The difference lies in emphasis. While the leaders of Upanisadic thought took up mainly the philosophical problems, Mahāvira and the Buddha tried to solve the social and mundane They were concerned with the life here and now *in this world, while the upanișadic thinkers addressed* themselves to the consideration of life hereafter. The centre of all thinking was, however, the misery of the world.

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1 The Pañchamahāyajñas, i e. the five great sacrifices were required to be performed daily by every householder They were sacrifices to gods (Deva), spirits (Bhūta), ancestors (Pitri), sacred study (Brāhma), and human beings (Jīva) No animal killing was, however, involved *in them* The domestic rituals of the people did not meet much opposition from the Jains and the Buddhists Refer to G C. Pande, Studies in the Origins of Buddhism. P 316.

2. Śat. Brā XIII 5.4.4, Śānkh SS XVI. 9 13, Taitt Saṁh. V. 6.5 3, Katha Samh XXII 3, Pāñch Brā. XXV. 16.3.

3. Cf. G. C. Pandey, Op Cit Pp. 315 and 317

Jainism

The Jain religion has been associated with Kośala from its earliest beginnings. Ayodhyā, which has been variously named in Jain works,[1] is believed to have been the birth-place of five Tīrthaṅkaras[2], namely Ṛiṣabhadeva or Ādinātha, who was also styled as Kośaliya[3], Ajitanātha, Abhinandananātha, Sumantanātha, and Avantinātha. Two others,[4] Sambhavanātha and Chandraprabhanātha were born in Śrāvasti. Sāketa was visited by Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra both[5]. Ayodhyā, Sāketa, and Śrāvasti thus became important Jain pilgrimages[6]. Mahāvīra, born in an age of intense religious and social thinking and activity in the 6th century B.C., was born and brought up in Vaiśālī[7] (Kundagrāma). Though he spent the better part of his life as a religious teacher in Magadha, he had many associations in Kośala. On many occasions he visited the Kośalan cities[8] in the course of his ministry and ultimately attained his Kaivalyahood in Pāvā, one of the Mallian capitals.

Kośala and Jain Tīrthankaras

It is difficult, however, to exactly determine the hold of Mahāvīra's teachings and his religion over the Kośalan people. Our task becomes all the more difficult since neither the traditional Jain accounts, nor the Buddhistic references to Nigantha Nātaputta[9] (Nirgrantha Jñātiputra), as they call him, can be fully accepted as above suspicion. The extant Jain canon suffers from the fact that it was composed by a devoted

Hold of Jainism on Kośala

1 See ante, P 52
2 Cf. Johnson, Trisasthiśalākāpurusacharitra (Eng Trans), Vol. II,, Pp 28, 255, and 277, cf Lala Sitaram, Ayodhyā Kā Itihāsa, Pp. 110ff., Uttarapurāṇa 50 69, Āvassaka Nirjjuti, 323 and 382.
3. Cf. J. C Jain, Life in Ancient India, P 300.
4 Tīrthakalpa, Pp. 239ff, Jain Harivamśapurāna, Vol II P 717, Shah, Jainism in Northern India, P. 26.
5. Cf J. C. Jain, Op. Cit P 329.
6. See ante Pp 52-3, 56-7, and 61-2.
7. Refer for his life to J C. Jain, Op Cit. Pp. 24-5; B. C. Law, Mahāvīra, P. 19.
8. See ante. Ch. II; J C. Jain, op. cit. Pp. 35-6.
9. Sāmaññaphalasutta, DN. (PTS.) I. Pp. 47ff.

but credulous band of Jain believers, who were separated from the teacher (Mahāvīra) himself by many centuries[1]. On the other hand, the Buddhist accounts are often derisive of the man, who was a competitor and compeer of the Buddha in the religious field. Words are put in the mouth of the Buddha, which often caricature and ridicule the Jain teacher in order to prove Buddhist superiority[2]. We have reasons to believe that the Jain and Buddhist influences, despite the attractive personalities of the two teachers, were in their life-time confined only to a limited portion of the Madhyadeśa. Mahāvīra seems to have found in Anga, Magadha, and Vajjian territories a better hearing than in Kośala[3], where the new Buddhist faith made a greater headway. The banker Mṛigāra or Mrigadhara of Śrāvastī, father-in-law of the Buddhist lady, Viśākhā, was a lay supporter of the Jain recluses[4]. Nandipriya and his wife Asvinī and Salatipriya as well as his wife Phālgunī were other Jain disciples there[5]. There were some Jain disciples[6] in Kapilavastu as well

Jain doctrines

Jain doctrines have been amply discussed by various scholars. In order to complete our picture, however, a passing reference may be made to them. Pārśvanātha was the first to inunciate the four cardinal principles of Jainism and Mahāvīra accepted them. The

1. Refer for the problem of differences between the present and the original Jain canon and their authenticity to J C Jain, op cit. Pp. 36-8 and 43.

2 e g., Achela Kasyapa, a Jain follower, is shown to have confessed that during 30 years of his ascetic life he had attained nothing except nudity, the shave of his head-hair, and brooming. Cf SN Sarnath Hindi edition, II P. 578

3 The ninth Ganadhara (leader of a school) of Mahāvīra hailed from Kośala (J C Jain Op. Cit P 25) Mahāvīra spent only one year out of 33 years of his ministry in Śrāvastī and one in Pāvā. See B. C. Law, Mahāvīra, Pp 31, 32

4 B C Law, Op. Cit P 39, It is said (cf N Dutt and K. D. Bajpai, Uttar Pradesh Men Bauddha Dharma Kā Vikāsa P. 84) that later on Mrigāra turned a Buddhist under the influence of his daughter-in-law, Viśākhā

5. B. C. Law, Op. cit., P. 38

6. Cf. N. Dutt, Early History of the spread of Buddhism, Pp 146-7.

former laid great emphasis on the doctrine of Ahiṁsā, which he preached against the Brāhmaṇic theory of sacrifices and animal killings[1]. Besides Ahimsā, abstinence from telling lies (Musāvāyāo Veramaṇa), from stealing (Adinnādānāo Veramana), and from external possessions (Bahiddhāo Veramana) were also preached. The doctrine of Ahimsā implied the repudiation of all that literature wherein killing of animals for religious purposes or for food was preached. By sheer implication the Vedic works came in that category. The doctrines of non-stealing and abstinence from lies were of moral import. The doctrine of non-possession, however, followed the Brāhmanic theory of Sanyāsa (Tapas[2]) and as a result asceticism became necessary. These principles were fully accepted by Mahāvīra[3] with the addition of one more—the principle of strict chastity (Brahmacharya). Unlike the Buddha, who rejected the existence of soul (Anāttāvāda) and declined to give any direct answer about the existence or otherwise of God, Mahāvīra acquiesced in Ātmavāda and openly refused to believe in God.

The final end, according to Mahāvīra, was the attainment of Sukha, i e., infinite bliss Sukha is not to be equated with worldly happiness of mortals. As a matter of fact, worldly pleasures are to be shunned[4] altogether with a view to attaining Sukha. When that ultimate goal is achieved, 'there is no old age, nor death, no pain nor disease[5].' It is complete Liberation from the cycle of birth and death, pain and pleasure.

On the popular side of its faith, Jainism, like Buddhism, started with a revolt against the principle of Brāhmanic superiority and the perpetuation of caste on the incidence of birth. It opened

1 Cf Institutes of Visnu, SBE. VII, LI 61-63; GDS XVII.37, Manusmriti, V 39
2 Cf Śat Brā IX 5 1.8, ĀDS II 9 23 1-6, Chhāndogya Upa. 3.17 4, Mbh XII 159 251.
3. J C. Jain, Op Cit. P 23, B C Law, Op Cit. Pp. 14, 17, 44 and 48; Refer also to MN. (PTS.) II. Pp 35-6.
4. Cf. B C. Law, Op Cit P. 65.
5. न सुखेन सुखं अधिगन्तब्बं दुखेन सुख अधिगन्तब्बम् ।
MN. Chuladukkhakkhandha Sutta.

its gates to all without any distinction of caste, creed, or sex and women were also allowed to enter the Jain order[1].

The death of Mahāvīra was followed by a serious schism[2] in the Jain order. There were mutual acrimonies over the knowledge and interpretations of the doctrine, as preached by him. There was a state of internal wordy-warfare and quarrel. The white-robed Jain laymen lost confidence in the order. This must have resulted in slowing down the progress of the faith. The Buddha profited by the lesson and, lest his own samgha may suffer the same fate, he took every care[3] to suggest to his followers the ways and means of retaining the unity of the order.

Mahāvīra's death and schism in the Jain order

Buddhism

The rise of Buddhism is said to have marked a new age in India[4] and the emergence of the Buddha as a new religious teacher, attractive in his approach to the common man, is interpreted variously Rhys Davids[5] described it as "a leap forward in speculative thought, of a new birth in ethics, of a religion of conscience threatening to take the place of the old religion of custom and magic." This is rather an extreme view, with which it is difficult to agree Except in the bold and open rejection of the soul theory[6]

1. Jainism seems to have been more progressive than Buddhism The Buddha was reluctant to admit the women to the order and when at last they were admitted they were given an inferior position to those of the monks Refer to Chullavagga (Vinayapitaka, X.1) Such was not the case in the Jain order Refer to Uvāsagadasāo, Lecture I
2. Refer to Pāsādikā and Sangitipariyāva Suttas of DN (Sarnath Hindi Ed), Pp 252 and 282, Sāmagāmasuttanta, MN (Sarnath Hindi Ed.), P 441, Vinayapitaka (Sarnath Hindi Ed) Pp 333-4
3. Ibid, DPPN II P 1099
4. Refer to Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, P. 156
5. Ibid P 156
6. Really speaking, he shirked philosophical questions. If any one asked him those metaphysical questions, he ridiculed and countered him with his own questions relating to the miseries of man, as he finds them in this mundane world Refer to Winternitz, Hist Ind. Lit II Pp 70-1, DN. Tevijja Sutta

and also in his scepticism about God, the teachings of the Buddha were a culmination of the previous religious ferment. He did not touch upon the abstruse philosophical and metaphysical problems[1]. There are some[2], who believe that the Buddhist theory and belief was only a revivalism of what the previous Buddhas had already taught. What constitutes his novelty, however, is the method of his approach and the popular touch that he gave to his teachings—first by the use of the language of the people (Pāli) and secondly by recognizing the absolute natural and ethical equality of human beings. Indeed, his greatness consists in the bold way, in which he stood against the prevalent social and religious evils of the time—the cult of sacrifices involving slaughter of animals and the theory of caste based on mere birth.

The Buddha comes to us as an example of complete freedom prevalent in the Ganas of his own days. He believed in shining 'openly and not secretly'. With highly intelligent arguments he came out into the open to challenge the Brāhmanic—rather priestly—beliefs in the theory of caste based on birth and the utility of violent sacrifices. The first of these two topics we have already discussed in the preceding chapter. Regarding the second, a few examples would clear the whole point. Kūtadanta, one of the Brāhmana beneficiaries of Bimbisāra, was once preparing for a great sacrifice, in which were tied to the sacrificial posts 700 oxen, 700 male-calves, 700 female-calves, 700 she-goats, and 700 sheep[3]. But the Buddha preached six other kinds of sacrifices (yajñas) of greater merit with the desired result that Kūtadanta adopted the Buddhist faith. They included[4] gifts to ascetics of character and taking refuge in the Buddha, Samgha, and Dhamma. Observance[5] in a cool and calculated way of the vows of nonkill-

Opposition to bloody sacrifices

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1. Vinayapitaka, Sarnath Hindi Ed P 83, Refer to Sten Konow and P. Tuxen, Op. Cit P 129
2 Cf. Hardy, A Manual of Buddhism, Pp 88-9.
3. Kūṭadanta Sutta, DN. (Sarnath Hindi Ed.), Pp. 48 and 210
4. Ibid. Pp. 54-5
5 Vinayapitaka (Sarnath Hindi Ed.), P. 96.

ing, non-stealing, and non-adultery was deemed highly necessary. Giving up of lies and abstaining from alcoholic drinks became a social necessity. Observance of Śīlas was required, and proficiency in the various stages of meditation was regarded as a necessary prerequisite for the attainment of Prajñā, i.e., knowledge. A satirical account is given in one of the Jātakas[1], where a Brāhmana is shown as going to the forest, finding an ox, and deciding to offer it to the fire-god. He goes away to bring some salt, without which, he thinks, the god will not take the offering. But in the meantime some hunters kill the ox. On returning, he finds not the ox but its hide and shank. He exclaims "as this lord of Fire can not so much as look after his own, how shall he look after me It is a waste of time to serve him, bringing neither good nor profit." Indeed, the sacrifices were, according to the Buddha and his followers, the result of attachment and desire, the forces which bind human beings in perpetual misery. The Buddha ridiculed[2] the sacrificing Brāhmanas, who, in the name of Veda, repeated the hymns composed by ancient sages and tried to procure wealth for themselves in the shape of sacrificial fees. The needless expenses and the violence involved in those sacrifices were his special targets of attack.

The Four noble Truths

The central point of the teachings of the Buddha[3] was the misery of the world, and the absolute problem was man's emancipation from the same. Dukkha is the painful truth of human life from beginning to end, which is beset with various forms of suffering—suffering of disease, old age, and death. The goal should be an end of that suffering. Like a skilled doctor,[4] the Buddha diagnosed that

1 Jātaka Vol. I (Fausboll's Ed), P. 494

2 Refer to MN (PTS) II P 169 , DN Tevijja Sutta, (PTS.), I. P. 138

3. Refer to SN (Sarnath Hindi Ed), Pt II Pp 487-8 and 558-561 , Vinayapitaka (Sarnath Hindi Ed). P 81.

4 The Buddha has been styled as Vaidyarāja and Bhiṣaka. Vide Lalitavistara (Pp 4, 107, 275, 351, 448, 458) and AN (PTS) IV. P 340, quoted by G C Pande, Op Cit P 398.

attachment and desire[1] are the real causes of Dukkha (samudaya). If an attempt were successfully made to eradicate attachment and desire, the incidence of Dukkha may be warded off (Nirodha). For Nirodha it is required that a definite way of life (Mārga) should be adopted, which should be a middle way (Majjhimā Paripadā)[2]. It recommends neither any undue enjoyment of the worldly pleasures nor complete shunning of them and running away from the world. These were the Four Noble Truths, as propounded by the great Teacher.

But in the final analysis, the ultimate end, Nirvāna, as he called it, could be possible only through knowledge (sambodhi). Indeed, the Buddha in an unique discussion of cause and effect traces all suffering to the existence of Avidyā[3].

Nirvāna

The goal of life, according to the Buddha, is Nirvāna, which he likened with the extinguished state of an oil-lamp On its metaphysics he did not elaborate and did not answer whether Nirvāna is 'being or not being.' He rejected these questions "not because he could not answer them, but because their being answered did not advance salvation[4]." "In brief, Buddha taught that Samsāra is Dukkha, Nirvāna is peace ineffable, the Mārga is primarily Jhanic practice" and in this way he preached a "world-gospel, a course of better life for every man[5]."

His ethical teachings

The popular element in Buddha's teachings was only slight[6]. He was a great moralist, who stood for some ethical principles, which may not, however, be described as his sole individual contribution. The whole fabric of his doctrines was based on an eightfold path, fully ethical in their nature[7]. The preamble to the Tittira-Jātaka[8]

1 The root causes of all ills are said to be anger (Krodha), greed (Lobha), and Dveṣa (malice) Cf. DN. (Sarnath Hindi Ed), P 283
2. Vinayapitaka (Sarnath Hindi Ed), P 80.
3. Ibid P 75; Refer also to Sten Konow and P. Tuxen, Op. Cit P. 131.
4. Sten Konow and P. Tuxen, Op Cit P 132
5. G. C. Pande, Op. Cit. P. 394
6. Ibid. P. 394.
7. Refer to Vibhanga Sutta, SN. (Sarnath Hindi Ed.), II. Pp. 622-3
8. Vol. I. No. 37, cf. Vinayapitaka (Sarnath Hindi Ed.), P. 464.

informs us as to how some monks of the order were unduly mindful of their own comforts. The Buddha indirectly chided them and said, "it is seniority (age) which claims respect of word and deed, salutation, and all due service." The Master deprecated all kinds of sensual pleasures[1]. As a bare bone without any flesh or blood cannot satisfy a dog's hunger, sensual pleasures are useless for human beings. Hearkening to the elders—mother, father, elder brother, and teacher—and respect to them were often emphasized by him[2]. To this list he added[3] the ascetics, Brāhmanas, wives, friends, and servant as well, whose service and worship he deemed as the service of the six directions.

The logical conclusion of the Buddha's teachings, deprecating Brāhmanic sacrifices, led to the growth of his doctrine of Ahimsā Later on, it became a highly respectable principle with even the Brāhmanas, who were his antagonists. The Vedas, which were based on the cult of prayer and sacrifices to gods on the one hand and on outwardly sacraments on the other, were also discarded by him[4].

Buddhist following in Kośala

Perhaps the Buddha had a great hold over Kośala[5]. Despite the fact that Prasenajita, the Kośalan king, ever remained an adherent of the Vedic religion[6], he had a great admiration and respect for the Teacher. He went sometimes out of his way to oblige the master[7]. His three queens—Mallikā, Somā, and

1. Cf Winternitz, Op Cit P 72
2. Refer to Mahāsāla and Mānatthaddha Suttas of SN (Sarnath Hindi Ed), Pt. I. Pp. 141-2
3. DN (Sarnath Hindi Ed), Pp 275-6.
4. Jātaka, Fausboll's Ed III Pp 194ff, DN Tevijja Sutta.
5. N Dutt (Early History of the Spread of Buddhism P.129) places Magadha and Kośala as first and second respectively in the spread of Buddhism That is true, however, of the later periods.
6. See ante Pp 227-9, N Dutt and K D Bajpai, Uttar Pradesh Men Bauddha Dharma Kā Vikāsa, Pp 72 and 106-8.
7. See ante Pp 229-30, The whole Kosala Saṁyutta of SN. is dedicated to Prasenajita, Refer also to MN. (PTS.), Pt. II. P. 123; AN. (PTS) Pt V Pp. 65ff

Sakulā, were devoted Buddhists[1]. Indeed, the privileges of the Buddhist faith and order were so great that sometimes culprits took refuge in the Brotherhood to get away from punishments[2]. The Vāseṭṭha and Subha Suttantas of the Majjhima Nikāya[3] inform us that the Buddha was universally respected. Even eminently learned Brāhmaṇas approached the Buddha for solutions of difficult problems[4]. We are told that having heard him they turned either monks or lay believers. It was deemed a great fortune of the Kośalan king, Prasenajita, and his kingdom that the Buddha spent a good part of his preacher's life there[5]. The king had many beneficient gifts to the Buddhist order to his credit[6]. Anāthapiṇḍika[7] became famous for his unparalleled generosity to the Buddha and his order. His most important gift was the famous Jetavana Vihāra, which the Buddha often selected to pass his rainny seasons Anāthapiṇḍika's whole family was devoted to the Buddha. Viśākhā was the lay-woman disciple of the Buddha. She was only second to Anāthapiṇḍika in her liberality to the Buddhist brothers, whom she often entertained in Śrāvasti[8]. She built there the Pubbārāma monastery for the Buddhist order[9].

Though the Buddha made his most direct attacks on the priestly sections of the Brāhmanas, there were many amongst

1 MN (PTS), Pt II. Pp. 106ff, Sarnath Hindi Ed P 368, also see ante Pp 230 and 232, DPPN I P 497, N. Dutt, Op. Cit P. 109.
2. Jātaka No. 118, Fausboll's Ed. Vol I. P 434.
3. Sarnath Hindi Ed Pp. 409 and 420.
4 Cf N Dutt and K.D. Bajpai, Uttar Pradesh Men Bauddha Dharma Kā Vikāsa P 104.
5 MN (Sarnath Hindi Ed), P 420.
6 The building of Rājakārāma was the most important of those gifts. Cf. DPPN II Pp 126-7, Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed) II. P 15, Refer for his other gifts to Sumangalavilāsinī (PTS.), II. P. 407, Vinayapitaka (Sarnath Hindi Ed), P. 470.
7. Cf DPPN. I Pp. 67-68; Vinayapiṭaka (Sarnath Hindi Ed.), Pp 458-462.
8. Introduction to the Pitha-Jātaka, No 337, Vol. III.
9. Cf. Thomas, The Life of the Buddha, P 106; Rockhill, The Life of the Buddha, P 71, DPPN. II P 628 The 'Pubbārāma' was also known as 'Migāramātāpasāda.'

them, who either joined his faith or became his admirers. We are often told that they were either defeated by him in religious arguments or were sometimes attracted by his growing popularity[1]. Aññāta Koṇḍañña was one such Brāhmana, hailing from Kapilavastu, who was one of the first five disciples of the Buddha[2]. Jānnussoṇi, who had been perhaps the teacher of Prasenajita, also became his disciple[3]. Similar was the case with Bāvāri, who having entered into asceticism, went to the south and established his hermitage on the Godāvarī[4]. Pokkharasādi was so much influenced by the teachings of the Buddha that he initiated not only himself but his whole family into the religion of the Master. He became a lay Buddhist disciple[5]. He was followed in that course by other Brāhmanas of Manasākata, namely Chanki, Dhanañjāni, Tārukkha, and Todeyya Angulimāla[6], the Brāhmana dacoit of Kośala, had the fortune of coming across the Buddha's way and his magic turned that anti-social element into an adorable Bhikkhu[7], Judging by the results of Buddha's missionary work amongst the Brāhmanas of Kośala[8], "it would not" says Dr. N. Dutt, "be wide of the mark to state that the difficulty of the task added to the glory of the success achieved and the number of the Brāhmanas converted at this place was larger than those converted by him at any other[9] "

The Śākyas did not at first take kindly to the Buddha and his teachings. We are informed, when the Buddha first visited Kapila-

1 Cf N Dutt and K D Bajpai, Uttar Pradesh Men Bauddha Dharma Kā Vikāsa, P 104, Intro to Jātaka No 124 Indeed, Sāriputta and Moggalāna (Maudgalyāyana), who were the two greatest disciples of the Buddha, were Brāhmanas

2 N Dutt and K D Bajpai, of cit. P 55, Mahāvastu, III. P. 420

3 DN (Sarnath Hindi Ed), Pp 34-41 and 86-92, PTS Ed. I P. 176, SN (PTS), Pt V P 4, MN (PTS), I P 175.

4 Refer to Sutta-nipāta, Sarnath Ed Pp. 208-216

5 DN. (Sarnath Hindi Ed), Pp 34-41, Refer also to MN. (Sarnath Hindi Ed), P. 394; MN (PTS.) II P. 209

6. Refer to MN (PTS), II. P. 23.

7. Cf. N Dutt, Early History of the Spread of Buddhism, Pp 144-45.

8. Ibid. P. 140

9 Ibid. P. 138.

vastu as a preacher, they did not offer him any obeisance unless he impressed them with his magical powers. For a pretty long time he and his disciples were not well-received[1]. But later on the Master was able to convert a few disciples from the Śākyan fold, some of whom became quite celebrated in the order The most important of them[2] were Anuruddha, Ānanda, Upāli, and Rāhula. The Buddha's cousin, Nanda, and Bhaddiya also joined the faith. Mahānāma, says Dr N. Dutt, had some 'Jain leanings' and does not appear in any account 'as giving up his faith to adopt Buddhism[3].' An account in the Vinayapitaka[4], however, may be referred to in this connection, from which an intention on the part of Mahānāma to join the order is unmistakably known.

The Koliyas of Rāmagrāma and their relatives, the Śākyas of Kapilavastu, gave to the Buddhist order a gift of 250 young men each by way of their gratitude to the Buddha, who had by his teachings prevented a war between the two sides for the waters of river Rohinī[5] The Mallian capital, Kusinārā, was not very important as a Buddhist centre[6] in the master's own life-time but the Mallas paid their fullest respects to the Buddha, when he was lying for his Nirvāna there They took every care to perform his obsequies in as organised a manner as he had desired[7].

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1 Ibid Pp 145-6, Hardy, A Manual of Buddhism, Pp 198ff, Introduction to Jātaka, (Fausboll's Ed), I P. 88 and Vol VI (Cowell's Eng. Ed) P 246
2 Vinayapitaka (Sarnath Hindi Ed), Pp 122-3, 126, 477-8, Refer also N Dutt, Early History of the spread of Buddhism, Pp 103 and 145; N. Dutt and K D Bajpai, Uttar Pradesh Men Bauddha Dharma Kā Vikās. Pp. 64-8
3. Early History of the spread of Buddhism, Pp 146-7
4 Chullavagga, VII. 1.1
5. Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed), Vol V Pp 412-3; Hardy, A Manual of Buddhism, Pp. 317-20
6. Cf. N. Dutt, Early History of the spread of Buddhism, P. 166
7 Cf. Mahāparinibbāna Sutta of the DN ; The Bhagavatī Sūtra gives a detailed account of Gosalā's life and teachings but it is tilted in favour of the Jains.

Some minor religious sects and their leaders

The Sāmaññaphalasutta of the Dīgha Nikāya[1] informs that, besides the Jain and Buddhist, there were five other minor non-Brāhmanic sects. They had some following in Kośala in the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. The primier of those small religious groups was that of the Ājīvikas. It was led by Makkhaliputta Gosāla[2]. The Jain texts claim that in the beginning he was a disciple of Mahāvīra[3]. But there was separations later on and Gosāla founded his own religious order Relations between Gosāla and Mahāvīra seem to have been far from cordial and competitions between them in the exhibition of magical and occult powers are often reported[4] Gosāla was born at Saravaṇa near Śrāvastī and brought up in Kośala and his headquarters were situated in the Kośalan capital (Śrāvastī), where he was chiefly respected[5]. Sixteen rainy seasons of his 24 years of ascetic life were spent there. Obviously, he had found much support there Dr. A. L. Basham[6] has adduced many references from the Jātakas[7] to vividly describe the various practices of the Śrāvastī Ājīvikas. King Prasenajita was very favourably disposed to them.

Makkhali Gosāla

The doctrines of Gosāla were based on a central principle of Niyativāda He had a "belief in the all-embracing rule of the principle of order, Niyati, which ultimately controlled every action and phenomena[8]." Nothing is left for control by human beings,

1 Refer to the Sarnath Hindi Ed Pp 18-22, Refer also to MN (PTS) I Pp 198, SN (PTS) I P 60, Jātaka(Fausboll's Ed) I. P 509 and IV, P 398ff.

2 He is variously known as Maskarin Gosāla (cf A. L Basham, History of the Ājīvikas, Pp 34, 78), Gośālikaputra (Mahāvastu, I Pp 253, 256), and Gośāliputra (Mahāvastu, III P 383). Refer also to Malalasekera, DPPN II 398-400

3 Cf A L. Basham, op cit P. 40, J C Jain, op cit P. 209.

4 Refer for details to A L Basham, op. cit Pp. 41-49, 54-5, and 61

5. Cf B. M Barua, Pre-Buddhistic Indian philosophy, Pp. 298-300

6 Op cit P 110.

7 Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed.) I. Pp 390 and 493.

8 A L. Basham, op cit P. 1, DN. (Sarnath Hindi Ed.), P. 20

who are all tools in the hands of an inevitable fate[1]. All beings (Satva), life (Prāṇa), substance (Bhūta), and existence (Jiva) are caused by fate. Such determinism left no room for any human effort, which becomes ineffectual[2] (Natthi Purusakāre).

Gosāla is referred to along with other heretical teachers in the Buddhist literature[3] as a Ganachārivo, i e., the leader of a Gana (Saṁgha) or order; Titthikāro, i e, the founder of a sect; Sādhu-Sammato, i.e., respected as a saint; and Chirapabbajito, i.e, having for long taken to ascetic life. These descriptions of the man in the Buddhist works, which often suffer from the defect of 'odium theologicum', speak well of the popular prestige of Gosāla and his sect. In fact, Ājīvikism seems to have been more potent and prevalent in Kośala than Jainism. The various references to it in the Jain and Buddhist works amply show that Mahāvīra and the Buddha had to encounter the greatest opposition from it after Brāhmanism To the Buddha Gosāla looked the most dangerous of the heretical teachers. He said, "I know not any other single person fraught with such loss to Manyfolk, such discomfort, such sorrow to Devas and men, as Makkhali, the infatuate[4]" It is evident that Makkhaliputta Gosāla had considerable religious influence in Kośala.

Purāna Kassapa was one of the six heretical teachers, mentioned in the Sāmmaññaphalasutta and some other portions of the Pāli canon. He was an Akriyāvādin and thus believed in the doctrine of non-action. According to him, there is no effect of good or bad actions

Purāna Kassapa

1. Dr Basham opines that the doctrine of fatalism had existed in India since long before Gosala op cit P 6
2. DN. (Sarnath Hindi Ed) P 20
3. DN. (PTS.) I Pp 47ff , II P 150 , Jātaka (Fausboll.'s Ed), I P. 509. The relevant reference in the Sutta-nipāta (Sarnath Ed P. 104) runs as follows :—

'ये ते समणबाह्मणा सघिनो, गणिनो, गणचरिया, ञाता, यसस्सिनो, तिथ्थकरा साधुसम्मता बहुजनस्स मेय्यथीदं–पूरणोकस्सपो, मक्खलि-गोसालो, अजितोकेसकम्बली, पकुधो कच्चायनो, सजयो वेलट्ठिपुत्तो, निगण्ठो नातपुत्तो ।

4. AN. (PTS.), I P. 33 quoted by Malalasekersa, DPPN. II. Pp. 398ff.

and there is nothing like Punya or Pāpa[1]. At other places[2], however, he is mentioned as an Ahetukavādin and his doctrines are similar to those of Makkhaliputta Gosāla. That is why, Dr. A. L. Basham[3] puts Purāna Kasappa in the list of the Ājīvika teachers.

Purāna Kassapa's influence in Kośala cannot be easily determined. One thing, however, is certain that he remained in the field for religious supremacy until the Buddha caused a definite decline in his prestige alongwith those of the other heretical teachers[4] He is mentioned as one of the reputed teachers and leaders of sects (Yassasino Titthakarā), revered ascetics (Sādhusammatā) and leaders of Samghas, and Ganas (Samghino Ganino). These respectful remarks were made by no less a person than Prasenajita, the Kaśalan King[5]

Pakudha (or Kakudha) Kachchāyana also was an Akriyāvādin He believed that four out of the five elements (earth, fire, air, and water), pain and pleasure, as well as soul are eternally existent. They never change and there is no consciousness behind them[6]. There is nothing like killing, hearing, knowing, good or bad, and knowledge or ignorance[7]. Thus he excluded all responsibility. Dr. A L Basham believes that Pakudha Kachchāyana had also some influence on the finished doctrines of the Ājivika sect[8]. Evidence has been produced to show that he had 'but a slight impression upon contemporary religious life[9]' It may be mentioned, however, that he shared with the six heretical teachers the respect and consideration shown by Prasenajita, the Kośalan king[10].

Pakudha Kachchāyana

1 DN (Sarnath Hindi Ed) Pp 19-20, PTS Ed I Pp. 52ff.
2 SN (PTS) III Pp 66-9 and V P 126.
3 Refer to op cit Pp 80-84 Other arguments for his being an Ājivika leader are given by the learned doctor in the same continuation
4 Cf N Dutt, Early History of the spread of Buddhism, Pp. 133-4
5 SN. (PTS.) I P 68; MN (PTS) I Pp. 205, 400 & 429.
6 Refer to DN (Sarnath Hindi Ed) P 21.
7. Cf DPPN II Pp 89-90
8 Op cit Pp 90-1
9. Ibid P 93.
10. Refer to Ante Pp. 227-8

Ajita Kesakambali was an Uchchhedavādin[1]. He did not believe in the efficacy of alms and sacrifices. Good or bad deeds have no effects. There is nothing like this world or the next. No good accrues from the service of parents and ascetics. Brāhmanas do not reach any perfection. Man is made of four elements, and when he dies, each one of those elements returns to its aggregate—earth, water, fire, and air. There is nothing like soul. After death nothing remains. He was thus a clear materialist, a forerunner perhaps of the Chārvākas.

Ajita Kesakambali

Except that Ajita Kesakambali is put by Prasenajita in the list of the six teachers, nothing particularly important is known about him. Consequently, we are in the dark about his religious influence.

Sañjaya Velatthiputta was an agnostic[2], who did not give direct answers to metaphysical questions in clear 'yes' or 'no'. He did neither commit himself to belief in the other world nor otherwise. On no question his answers were unequivocal. He ran away from dogmatism and seems to have been a neutralist.

Sañjva Velatthiputta

That an unconvinced teacher, as Sañjaya Velatthiputta was, could have any real influence on the general masses is doubtful It is sometimes believed[3], and perhaps rightly, that his doctrines have been caricatured in some Buddhist accounts. It is possible that as a 'Titthika' and 'Ganin[4]', he had some following. Like some other contemporary teachers, he was senior to the Buddha and had already advanced in years, when Prasenajita first met the Buddha, while the latter was only an young (Dahara) Pravrajita[5].

1 DN. (Sarnath Hindi Ed), P. 21
2. Ibid. P 22
3. A L. Basham, op. cit P 17, Indeed, the Jains called the Buddha also an Akriyāvādī and Uchchhedavādī, the charges which the latter levelled against some of the heretical teachers Refer to Vinayapitaka (Mahāvagga) VI. 4.8
4. SN. (PTS.) I P. 68; MN. (PTS.) I Pp. 205, 400, and 426
5. Ibid.

Inter-sect relations

The foregoing account indicates that Kośala, like other regions of the Madhyadeśa, was pulsating with new religious ideas and activities in the 6th and 5th centuries B C, unparalleled before or after that age. The question naturally arises as to what was the attitude of the various sects towards one another. India has been a land of toleration and assimilation. Hindu history has seldom been a witness to violent persecutions. India could avoid them mostly because of the adaptability of her people to new ideas. But the credit also goes to Indian monarchs, who hardly interfered with religion and society and considered it their duty to protect and encourage all Politics was generally not mingled with religion. We have already discussed in a previous context[1] how Prasenajita was a shining example in this respect. Catholic in his views, he was equally liberal to all the orthodox or heretical sects of his time without any distinction[2] Himself a believer in the Vedic sacrifices, he took Mallikā, a Buddhist, as his queen[3]. Even an angry Vidūdabha could be dissuaded for the moment from his professedly political and vindictive operations against the Śākyas by the intercession of a religious leader like the Buddha[4]. By and large, the general mass of the people seem to have been seized of this spirit. Once, on an occasion of the collection of alms in Śrāvastī, the protagonists of the Buddhist faith on one side and those of the other heretic teachers on the other could not decide among themselves as to whom the alms should be given. Ultimately, however, the question was peacefully decided by an open vote[5]. Again, we come across a case, where an offer was made by a heretical family of commendable rank to another family of the Buddhists for the hands of a daughter. An understanding was easily reached about individual freedom in matters of faith and worship and the marriage was easily celebrated

1. See ante pages 226-7
2. See ante pages 226-7 and 230.
3 See ante page 230
4. See ante page 259
5 Refer to the introduction to the Susīma-Jātaka, No. 163, Vol. II.; DPPN II. p. 1267

It is unfortunate, the same cordial relations did not always exist between those, who were actively engaged in the propagation of their respective faiths—the missionaries. It may, however, be noted that all the testimonies that come to us in this connection are Buddhistic. The Brāhmanic and Jain accounts that refer to the faith of the Buddha or other heretical teachers are late in their composition. No judgment can be formed on their basis with regard to the period under study. Of the minor sects there are no accounts at all. Nevertheless, the mutual addresses were not only disrespectful but sometimes abusive. Aggika Bhāradvāja derisively called[1] the Buddha a Mundaka and a Vasalaka (Vriṣala, i.e., a person, fallen from the orthodox faith). The followers of Mahāvīra and Makkhaliputta Gosāla were taunted by the Buddhists as vulgar nudes[2]. Achela Kaśyapa, a Jain, is made to say in the Samyutta Nikāya that during thirty years of his ascetic life he had achieved nothing except his nudity, doing away with his hair, and brooming[3] The heretical teachers made a combined effort to oust the Buddha from Kośala by inducing Prasenajita to hold a competition in the exhibition of their miraculous powers[4]. But when the Buddha outshone them in demonstrating his occult attainments, they took up to the mean course of blackening his character by setting on him two courtezans, Chiñchā and Sundari[5]. The Jain recluses, we are told[6], were not ashamed of upbraiding the Buddha The ignoble attempts of Devadatta to attain the religious leadership of the Saṁgha are too well known to be repeated here Even the Buddha, the most illustrious amongst his contemporary religious leaders, was not free from a little bit of sectional narrowness. His remarks about Uddaka Rāmaputta, whose discipleship he had himself accepted for

1. Sutta-nipātta quoted by N Dutt, Early History of the spread of Buddhism, P. 135.
2. Refer to the preamble to Jātaka No. 144, Vol I.
3. Sarnath Hindi Ed , Pt II. P 478.
4. Cf. N. Dutt, Early History of the Spread of Buddhism, P. 133.
5. Ibid. P. 134 ; Refer for greater details to T. Watters, on Yuan Chwang's Travels, Vol I. Pp 389 and 392
6. Vinayapitaka (Mahāvagga) VI. 4.8 (Sarnath Hindi Ed. P. 244.)

sometime before he attained his Sambodhi and who had been dead by the time the former started his own ministry, are ungenerous, to say the least. It is suggested in the Saṁyutta Nikāya that he (Uddaka Rāmaputta) was deceitful[1]. We have already seen[2] as to how the Buddha, after all his important disciples—Sāriputta, Moggalāna, and Ānanda, etc., had failed, personally went to the court of Prasenajita (perhaps for the first and the last time)[3] to get revoked the king's order granting a piece of land to the heretics nearby Jetavana. It can hardly be believed that the king, with all his admiration and respect for the Buddha, could be liable to bribes[4] from the heretics It may be concluded that the missionaries of the various sects suffered from the defect of narrowness in their attitude and approach towards sects, which were not their own.

The popular pantheon

Man spiritualises his own actual life and symbolises the natural phenomena He has a knack of finding explanations for things around him and often thinks the cosmos as manifestation of some supernatural power. The Vedic Indian symbolised that power in his pantheism. His gods were either natural spirits or the representatives of the Virāt Purusa Prayers were offered to them for protection, power, pelf, prestige, sons, or for emanicpation from some disease or misery. The introduction to one of the Jātakas[5] informs that businessmen on journey caught hold of living creatures and offered them in sacrifice to gods with further promises in case they made profits. The place of pride seems to have been given to Agni[6], the perpetual burning of which was

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1 Sarnath Hindi Ed., Pt II P 486

2. See ante Pp 230-1

3 In fact, usually it was Prasenajita, who went to the Buddha and the latter once scolded him in being late in going to him (Buddha). See ante. page 295

4. That is how the Sāratthappakāsinī (SN Commentary) explains the whole episode (PTS Vol. III. P. 218)

5. No 91

6 Rig. VIII 40 12

deemed a sacred duty of a Brāhmana[1]. All the daily rituals, enjoined upon a householder as a religious duty by the Grihya-sūtras, were centred round the worship of fire[2]. Throwing oblations to the goddess Agni was regarded an act of religion in itself and it was also believed that through Agni (Havya-Vāhana) they would be carried to the gods above[3]. It was the 'director of rites and guardian of morality'. It was the witness of all the important sacraments. Vows taken before it were sacrosanct and permanent[4]. Fire-worship was a prominent feature of the Brāhmanic religion even in the days of the Buddha and we often find him refuting its efficacy[5]. Besides fire-worship, Indra[6], Soma[7], Varuna[8], Prajāpati[9], and Brahmā[10] were also the gods of the adherents of the Brāhmanic religion. Indra was the Rigvedic god, most invoked in times of war. He provoked strife and his accompaniments were rain, thunder, lightning, and other atmospheric disturbances. He was a heavy drinker of Soma and was deemed strong enough to perform

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1. Indeed, the VR.(I.6.12) says that, while Daśaratha was ruling at Ayodhyā there was none, who did not keep burning the sacred fire The relevant verse runs —

नानाहिताग्निर्नायज्वा न क्षुद्रो वानतस्कर. ।

2. The VR says tht Rāma, Lakṣamana, and Sitā never failed to perform their Sandhyā every day and offered oblations to fire cf Epic India, C V Vaidya, P 302, DN (PTS) I P 67
3. Cf V. M Apte op cit P. 207, The black deer seems to have been a special object of offering to the fire (VR II. 56.26).
4. Cf R.B Pandey, Hindu Samskāras, P. 62.
5. Refer to DN (PTS) I P 244.
6. Ibid, Indra is known to the Buddhist literature as Sakka, i.e, Śakra, Sujāmpati, or Maghavā and is treated as the head of the thirty three devas in the Tāvatimsa heaven Cf. R. L Mehta, Pre-Buddhist India P 322, DN Sarnath Hindi Ed P 162 It should be noted here that Rhys Davids (op. cit P. 151) differentiates between Indra and Śakra
7. DN. (PTS.) I. P 244.
8. DN (PTS.) I. P. 244, SN (PTS) I P 219; Jātaka Fausboll's Ed.) V. P. 28 and VI P. 201.
9. DN. (PTS.) I. P. 244.
10. DN. (PTS.) I P. 244.

great and difficult deeds[1], the slaying of the Asura, Vṛitra, being prominent. Soma was itself a god, typical of the original Indo-Aryan love of drinking. Varuna was the foremost god of the Puruṣamedha sacrifice[2], often associated with a watery resort, and was invoked at the Rājasūya sacrifice[3]. His punishment of those, on whom he got angry, was the infliction of dropsy. In course of time, however, Varuna was reduced to the position of a 'tree-god', a 'Nāga-King', and 'a lord of the oracle girls[4]' Prajāpati was the God-creator, referred to in the Rigveda[5] as the creator of Heaven and Earth, capable of giving life and strength and one, whose commands were obeyed by all the other gods In the Brāhmanas he is the object of and a central figure in the sacrificial rites. He was the symbol of all fertility and creative acts. Later on the creative activity of Varuna was taken over by Brahmā, who gradually supplanted him. Brahmā was symbolised as the constructive power behind the world and was deemed to be a divine person. By the epic period he was treated as the wisest and eldest of the gods. To him they applied for guidance in difficult matters[6]. He sometimes referred them to Visnu, another deity emerging as the leader of the gods But it does not appear that the trinity of gods—Brahmā, Visnu, and Maheśa, representing the three natural powers of creation, protection and destruction, had as yet become popular in our period.

Other gods were the sun and the moon (Chandimā or Chanda and Sūriyā[7] of the Pāli) They were thought to be manifestations

1 Rig X 119

2 See ante pp 139-40 Though the Jātakas retain him as one of the highest gods (Fausboll's VI 164), he is reduced as a tree-god (Fausboll's Ed IV P 8)

3. Sten Konow and P Tuxen, op. cit P. 41

4 Cf. Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, P 153

5 X 121

6 In the Buddhist works (DN Sarnath Hindi Ed, P 163) he is treated as the lord of Trāyastrinśa heaven

7 Jātaka (Fausboll's Ed) I. P. 474, II. P. 311, VI. P. 1, Refer also to Vāyu 88 67-8 Bhāg IX 6 37, Bd III 63. 69-70; Visṇu IV 2.65, DN (Sarnath Hindi Ed), P 88

of some supernatural power under whom no good or bad actions could remain undetected. They were the symbols of permanence and were often invoked as witnesses, like Agni, to resolves of psychological understanding between parties[1]. Siri or Sirimā[2] was the goddess of luck, plenty, and success and was quite popular with the masses. The Buddha, however, deprecated the worship of the sun and the goddess of Luck[3]

Besides the above benevolent deities, there were some gods and goddesses, whom man feared. They were the spirits of evil infesting the world Recourse had to be found to meet their dangers and many an occult practice grew. They comprised of charms, spells, and magic[4]. Asuras were treated to be melevolent deities and were deemed from quite ancient times as the professed enemies of gods They were styled as Dānavas, Rāksasas, Vidyādharas, and Yaksas[5]. The latter two were in turn treated to be masters of charms and magical tricks, capable of showing great powers and exhibiting pelf Ponds, lakes, and tanks were believed to be inhabited by Yaksas[6] Their wives, the Yaksinis and Vidyādharīs were believed to be capable of changing their forms at will They could turn themselves into beautiful and attractive persons but only to ruin those men, whom they contacted. The various names and forms of Yaksas, mentioned in the Buddhist literature[7], amply prove that their worship was highly prevalent

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1 In the marriage ceremonies looking at the sun and the moon was an important thing Refer to Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra, I 8 7 and I 8 19; see also Taitt Upa I 4

2 Cf. R L Mehta, op cit P 323, Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, P 144, Śat Brā XI 4 3, Taitt Upa. I 4

3 Cf. N Dutt, Early History of the spread of Buddhism, P. 14.

4 The Atharvaveda is a collection of charms, mostly used in sorcery Refer to Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, P 141.

5 Cf R. L Mehta, op cit P 323, G. C Pandey, Studies In the Origins of Buddhism, P. 318. Various Yakṣas are named in the Mahāsamaya Sutta of the DN.

6. Refer to Nālakapāna-Jātaka Vol I

7. Refer to Dr. Motichand, 'Some Aspects of the Yaksa Cult', Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, 1954, Pp. 43ff.

in northern India. Worship of snakes was also widespread. Originally the people of tropical India must have been afraid of the terrible poison emitted by snakes through their bites. Later on, it was believed that if they were left alone and their anger was not caused by human intervention no harm was to be countered from them. Awe changed into respect and a sense of worship developed Though originally Nāga-worship was a non-Aryan one, it gradually got popular throughout the whole of the country[1]. The Nāgas were regarded as the deities of water and the masters of immense power and prosperity[2] Tree worship and river worship were also not unknown[3]. It was believed that good or bad spirits resided in those natural phenomena and by worship they could be made to afford protection Offerings and sacrifices were made to those spirits[4]. Of the trees, the Peepal tree seems to have been the most important. It was one such Peepal tree under which the Buddha attained his final Sambodhi

Numerous popular gods and goddesses are referred to in the Dīgha Nikāya[5]. They are shown as paying their respects[6] in invisible forms to the Buddha. They included the spirits of the Earth and the great mountains, the Four Great kings, i.e, the guardians of the four quarters, and the Gandharvas The latter were considered to be heavenly musicians, who were supposed to preside over child-bearing and birth[7].

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1 Nāgapanchamī is still one of the highly popular worship-days of India Refer to SN (PTS), Pt V Pp 47 and 63 Various Nāgas are named in the Mahāsamaya Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāva
2 Cf R L Mehta, Pre-Buddhist India, P 325, N Dutt & K D Bajpai, Uttar Pradesh Men Bauddha Dharma Kā Vikāsa (Hindi), P 16.
3 Ibid, Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, P 146, A A Macdonell, Vedic Mythology, P 154.
4. Cf Rhys Davids, op cit P 148, Manusmriti, III 88.
5 DN Sarnath Hindi Ed, Pp 178-9.
6. The purpose of the reference is to show that the Buddha was above all the gods and deities
7 Cf Rhys Davids, op. cit P 146

CONCLUSION

The history of pre-Mauryan Kośala is gleaned from traditions for about two to three thousand years. The Solar dynasty of Ayodhyā and Śrāvastī is the only one regarding which more or less detailed and continuous accounts are imbedded in Indian historical traditions and literature. A picture, complete and connected as far as the available material goes, has been drawn in the foregoing pages Still dark ages are there. Traditional history has a tendency to preserve only that which is of permanent value. The ordinary and monotonous it throws into the limbo of oblivion. It is true of the history of Kośala as well. The outlines of the rise and growth of its power right from Iksvāku to Rāma are clearly discernible from literature. The same is not true, however, of the post-Rāma period Except for the stray and incidental references in the Buddhist works, nothing politically important is known. It is not until the age of the Buddha that monotony is relieved, but then the emphasis lies rather on religion, society, and culture than on politics

Ancient Kośala, situated as it was in the heart of northern India, was ever in the thick of all kinds of movements and currents—political, social, religious, and cultural It was on the highway between the north and the south ; north-west and the south-east. Great opportunities came in its way, and ambitious Kośalan monarchs utilized them to the full. Politico-cultural leadership of India remained in the hands of Kośala before it passed to Magadha. In the train of the conquests of Māndhātā, Sagara, Raghu, and Rāma there were mutual contacts of peoples and cultures—Aryan and non-Aryan. The process of the socio-cultural unity of the north and the south was preceded by a politico- military conflict between the two regions, in which the two sides were represented by the Ksatriya-Brāhmana confederacy of Ayodhyā, Kānyakubja, and Kāśī of the north and the Haihaya—Tālajangha combination of the south. The southern combination

was aided by some foreign and nomadic tribes, which had occupied the north-west portions of the country and utilised the opportunity of the invasions of the southerners to deal some blows over the Madhyadeśa from their side. This feud seems to have anticipated long ago the much later combination of the Rāṣtra-Kūṭas with the Arabs against the Gurjara-pratihāras of western and central India. The theory of a Brāhmana-Ksatriya competition and conflict in this connection is a misreading of history. The evidence produced clearly shows that they had not only learnt to live in peace but also to work hand in hand for a higher object—the political and the cultural unification of the country. The personal feuds of a Vasistha and a Viśvāmitra or of Paraśurāma and Arjuna Kārtavīrya can in no way be regarded as typical of class or caste struggles By the age of Rāma, there was a marked fruition in all fields of life and some sort of stability had already been achieved The north and the south met for the first time on a common plank of religion and culture The process of their psychological unity was steadily going on and step by step they were able to cross some major hurdles of history The norms of life and the patterns of thinking had been mostly set. But in the meantime a great misfortune intervened. With the destructive war of the Mahābhārata there were serious setbacks in all fields of life. Not until there was an intellectual awakening again in the age of Upanisadic thought that India fully came into her own once again The intellectual and philosophical speculations of that age were complemented in the religious and social fields by some great movements during the sixth century B.C. The Buddha easily became the foremost religious leader. India was in a ferment The Post-Buddha developments were only a continuation of the past to which Kośala had been an important witness

The foregoing studies may give some ideas of the strides the Indians took in the various fields of life in ancient days. The contributions of Kośala to the ideal of universal conquests, administrative institutions, and political thought were important and their impact on Indian mind has been quite strong. Even

in modern political experimentation, Rāmarājya (the ideal State of Rāma) is a word to conjure with. In the field of cultural and philosophical ideas they have been equally impressive.

Indeed, the history and growth of those institutions and ideas in various walks of life—politics, law, customs, society, art, and religion—in the long and chequered annals of Kośala is undoubtedly a fascinating and fruitful subject of enquiry.

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